

THE  
**Nonconformist.**

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. X.—NEW SERIES, NO. 265.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1850.

[PRICE 6d.]

**ECLECTIC REVIEW.**

A NEW SERIES of the "ECLECTIC REVIEW," will be commenced on JANUARY 1, 1851, under the joint editorship of

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AND

The Rev. Dr. Stowell,

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**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,**—Having been solicited by several influential and earnest friends of our valuable Institution to allow my name to stand as a Candidate for the office of a Director—after much consideration I have consented, upon the distinct understanding that I will not (beyond the simple announcement of my intention) spend one shilling to secure my election, however highly I should appreciate such an honourable distinction; believing, as I do, that it is the sacred duty of all real friends to the permanent prosperity and economy of the National Provident Institution, to put an end for ever to that pernicious system of bribery and corruption.

Should I be fortunate enough to obtain your confidence and support, which I most respectfully solicit, it will ever be my determination earnestly to oppose as heretofore, all direct or indirect influence of the Board of Directors, in the free choice and election of the best men, to manage our affairs.

Because our Institution has prospered, I feel the deeper anxiety that nobody of men should be permitted to strike a blow at one of our best privileges, viz., the controlling power vested in the great body of the assured, to which I mainly attribute its great success; if elected, my best energies shall be devoted to the interests of the Society. I am, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,  
JOHN THWAITES.

61 and 62, High-street,  
Southwark.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION.

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,**—As by our Third Rule, two of our Directors must retire every year by rotation, it has fallen to my turn to place my seat at your disposal on the forthcoming annual meeting, and I venture to offer myself for re-election.

Should you replace me in the position I now have the honour to occupy, it will be my endeavour to merit your support, by continuing my unremitting attention to promote the best interests of our valuable Institution.

I remain, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Yours very faithfully,

ROBERT MAJOR HOLBORN.

Mincing-lane,  
November 1850.  
The ELECTION will be by ballot, 1 to 4 o'clock, at the LONDON TAVERN, on Monday, December 16.

THE PEACE SOCIETY.

**COURSE OF LECTURES.**—The FOURTH and LAST of the above Course of Lectures will be delivered at the HALL OF COMMERCE, Threadneedle-street, on TUESDAY Evening, December 17, 1850, by the Rev. Dr. MASSIE.

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**A NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.**

On the First of January, 1851, will be published, in Sixty-four pages, Octavo, price Sixpence,

THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE

**MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.**

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And others, whom the Proprietor cannot at present announce.

The announcement of a New Monthly Religious Periodical will be deemed by the public to require a few words in explanation of the object proposed to be accomplished by it. There are already in the field several Religious Magazines—why add another to their number?

The proper answer to such an inquiry will, it is thought, be best furnished by describing the sphere which the "MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR" is intended to fill, and the distinctive character which it will aspire to exhibit and sustain. For a long time past, the want has been felt, especially by the more advanced section of the Nonconformist body, of a magazine, which, firmly based upon those essential religious truths which are designated Evangelical, should combine, with a liberal discussion of them, higher literary merits than have usually been thought requisite to satisfy the taste of the public. An organ for the free and able exposition of Christianity, of its essential spirit, of its characteristic principles, of the modes in which it legitimately works, and of its diversified action upon individual minds, and upon society—altogether unfettered by sectarian or party restrictions—divested, as much as possible, of whatever is technical in form, or dogmatic in temper—and offering for the instruction of the intelligent and reflecting, the carefully expressed thoughts of able contributors upon those religious topics which may have engaged most attention, and excited most interest between the intervals of its publication—is unquestionably much needed, as it is, to all appearance, greatly desired by the religious world in the present day. Such an organ it would perhaps be premature to promise that the "MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR" will be; but neither expense nor labour will be spared to make it such.

To the movement now in active progress for effecting an entire separation of the Church from the State, the "MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR" will render its hearty aid, by steadily discussing, elucidating, and commending the leading principles of Nonconformity—by enforcing the duties, which arise out of the recognition of those principles—and by recording such information on what is being done to diffuse the knowledge of them as may be judged most interesting to those of its readers who desire the speedy emancipation of Christianity from the corrupting and controlling influences of the civil magistrate. Such Political subjects as it may discuss, and such Social and Economical questions as it may be deemed expedient to treat of in its pages, it will discuss freely, but without bitterness, on religious grounds, and with a religious spirit.

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THE PAPAL HIERARCHY.

**AT** a Meeting of Protestant Nonconformists and others, of Preston, held in the Corn Exchange, on the Evening of Tuesday, 3rd December, JOHN CATTERALL, Esq., Mayor, in the chair (the meeting having been commenced by prayer):—

It was moved by the Rev. J. Spence, M.A., Congregational Minister; seconded by the Rev. S. Kay, Wesleyan Minister; and carried unanimously—

1. "That this meeting, with the Word of God in its hands, and with past history before it, cannot but regard Popery as alike opposed in doctrine and practice to the teaching of that word, and injurious to the highest civil interests of any community where its power predominates."

It was moved by the Rev. R. Slate, Congregational Minister; seconded by the Rev. J. Jenkins, of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion; and carried unanimously—

2. "That while according in the fullest extension of civil and religious liberty to all Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, this meeting considers that the recent Bull of the Pope of Rome, by which he appoints a Papal Hierarchy in this country, is an evidence of the unchanged, arrogant, ambitious, and intolerant character of that system; and is a fresh call on all true Protestants to watch its proceedings, and by intelligence, zeal, and prayer, to resist its encroachments, and seek its overthrow."

It was moved by the Rev. J. Thompson, Methodist Association Minister; seconded by the Rev. E. Shelton, Wesleyan Minister; and carried unanimously—

3. "That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Lord John Russell, and the Members of Parliament for the Borough of Preston and the Northern Division of Lancashire; and that they be advertised in all the Preston newspapers, and in the Patriot, Nonconformist, and Watchman."

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CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

**AT** the close of two lectures on civil and religious freedom, delivered by HENRY VINCENT, Esq., of Stamford-hill, Middlesex, to crowded audiences, composed of all classes of the inhabitants, in the Public Hall, Rochdale, on the evenings of Monday and Tuesday, the 2nd and 3rd December, 1850, the following resolution was proposed by JACOB BRIGHT, jun., Esq., and seconded by GEORGE ASHWORTH, Esq., J. P., and carried unanimously with loud applause:—

That this meeting desires to record its firm and unalterable attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty. It believes that all the inhabitants of these islands ought to enjoy unrestricted freedom in matters of religion, without consulting the Commons, Lords, or Crown. It believes that Jesus Christ is the sole head of Christian believers on earth; and that serious mischief has accrued to religion, liberty, and education by the fatal policy of uniting Church and State. And this meeting earnestly calls upon the people of England to manifest their fealty to the Gospel and their loyalty to freedom, by demanding that the Legislature, instead of enacting laws to oppress any religious body, will repeal all laws now in existence that give dominancy to any sect—thus freeing religion from its alliance with the State, and removing those great temptations of wealth and splendour, that attract the cupidity of politicians and priests, and make the Legislature the battle ground of civil and corrupt hierarchies.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

Rochdale, Dec. 3, 1850. JOHN PETRIE, Chairman.



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"In consequence of the many spurious admixtures packed in canisters under the name of Patent Coffee, the medical profession of London think it just to caution the public against them, and recommend all persons whose object it is to obtain genuine coffee, to buy Snowden and Co.'s Patent Purified Coffee Nibs for Invalids, and grind it themselves. They may then depend on obtaining, not only a genuine article, but purified from all irritating fibre, which renders coffee objectionable to many who otherwise would enjoy that luxurious beverage."—See Testimonial of Dr. Ure, Professor of Chemistry, Bloomsbury-square London.

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for Invalids.

Her Majesty has granted to ROBERT SNOWDEN and CO., of the CITY-ROAD and EAST-ROAD, LONDON, her Royal Letters Patent for Roasting Coffee in Porcelain ENAMELLED CYLINDERS, and PURIFYING the BERRY from all the internal FIBRE which encircles the heart of the bean.

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To be had of the Patentees, City-road and East-road, London, and of their appointed Agents, in most of the principal towns; where such Agents are not, it may easily be had by inquiry, or letter containing a remittance, to the Patentees, SNOWDEN AND COMPANY, CITY-ROAD AND EAST-ROAD, LONDON.

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# THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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## ECCLÉSIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

### THE FORK IN THE ROAD.

FROM the venomous abuse of some of our contemporaries, from the severe censure uttered or implied by others, from those indications of surprise with which many have marked their dissent from our views on the Papal question, and from the more wounding expressions of regret which have fallen from the lips and pens of our own friends, we turn, every now and then, for solace, to a fresh survey of the ground we have thought it our duty to occupy—and we are bold to affirm that every new attack on our position, and every new examination of it which has been forced upon us, does but strengthen the confidence we feel in awaiting that ultimate verdict which calm common sense, and Christian judgment, uninfluenced by passion, will hereafter pronounce upon the course we have taken. Such a declaration, we are quite aware, will be fuel to the sneering temper, or the lofty indignation, of many who differ from us. Be it so. If this confidence be but a bubble of self-sufficiency, they who burst it with the breath of their reasoning will be doing both ourselves and our readers good service. But if this avowal of unfaltering faith in our interpretation of principles common to us all be sustained by arguments which go for something, by a readiness, on our part, to grapple manfully with every intelligible objection, and by observation of the fact that our opponents take more pains to decry us, than to expose the fallacies of our logic—then, for the sake of those who agree with us, we will not be deterred from giving utterance to what we feel, nor from saying what we are ready to justify by openly assigned reasons, that so far as our understanding has been able to test it, we are fully satisfied that the ground is firm beneath our feet.

By far the ablest comment on the recent measure of the Pope which we have yet seen, purporting to justify the present alarm in the public mind, is the Declaration adopted by the Lancashire Congregational Ministers. That document, unlike many others on the same side of the question, goes into the subject in a strain of able and consistent reasoning which, if it could not be successfully met, one might feel some satisfaction in surrendering to at discretion. We believe it expresses, in a lucid and masterly style, precisely the thoughts which many of those who differ from us, have striven, but unsuccessfully, to utter—and we cannot but think that in commenting on this carefully-worded manifesto, we shall be able to point out to our readers, not only the exact spot at which we part company with some of our friends, but the reasons which compel us to take our own road, rather than theirs.

The substance of the case, as put in the document alluded to, is this. Rome aims at temporal dominion through spiritual influences. Universal sovereignty ever has been, and still is, her claim—and she uses the doctrine of a future world but as an instrument to bring the present world to her feet. The religion she teaches "finds its consummation in power, not in purity; in a hierarchy, not in heaven." "In the person of its living Pontiff, it lays claim to all freedom, while it cedes

none. It insists that we should trust it without limit, while, after long experiment, it has been found a traitor to every trust that has been committed to it." The allegiance of the Romanist, moreover, is divided. "In his system, the priest is wiser than the magistrate, not only in respect to the doctrines of theology, but in respect to all questions of public morals—questions which lie, of necessity, at the foundation of the whole framework of society." The document itself, however, will be found in another column, and will no doubt have the reader's best attention. The pith of its meaning is this—that in meeting Papal aggressions, we have to meet, not merely a spiritual error, but an error the very purport and end of which is *political*. Now in every word of this we concur. We never regarded Popery as a purely spiritual system. We cannot doubt that the ruling passion which sways it is, lust of dominion—not desire of equality, but of ascendancy—a claim upon implicit obedience, not in reference to the things of the other world only, but in reference to the things of this. Proud priests know no limit to their demands but necessity. Body, intellect, and conscience—for the sake of their own exaltation, they would trample upon, they would enslave, all. That we have ever concealed our impression on this head, or ever evaded its force, we dare our bitterest antagonists to charge us with. No! the difference between us and others does not relate to what Romanism is, nor in what light, nor with what emotions, it is to be viewed. Not here do our paths diverge, although many speak as though such were the case. We shall be obliged to part company when we come to compare notes as to how this mixed spiritual and political system is to be dealt with; but, even in this direction, there is a considerable distance yet along which we all go together.

For, we imagine that the gentlemen who have favoured the world with this eloquent and able exposition of Popery, as "aiming at the temporal through the spiritual," will not be found to assert that a religious system bearing this character cannot be wisely tolerated by the State. We presume they would recoil with indignation from the bare suspicion that they wish to go back to civil disabilities, or that they would consent to suppress even Romanism by pains and penalties. If it were urged against their liberality, that the institution to be dealt with makes political claims, and works mainly to political ends, and that, therefore, it should not be tolerated, and much less admitted to an equal participation of political power, these gentlemen would, no doubt, reply, and, as we think, with sufficient force, that, inasmuch as Rome seeks temporal dominion by means of spiritual influences, it is mainly with her spiritual influence that we must deal, and that no political exclusions can diminish whatever of reality and power there is in that—that false conclusions, on the prevalence of which Popery grounds its claim to temporal sovereignty, cannot be driven out of men's minds by severity nor by restrictions—that deplorable as is the evil these erroneous convictions go to uphold, experience teaches us that the scourge only makes men cling more closely to them—and that, therefore, to cut up the system at its roots, we must confine ourselves to spiritual instrumentalities, and, by destroying the means used for base purposes by the Papal system, destroy, most effectually, the end for which it uses them. These, or still more convincing than these, are, no doubt, the arguments by which the Lancashire ministers would make out a case in defence, not merely of toleration being extended to Roman Catholics, but of the Emancipation Act itself. We, too, should go along with them most cordially. We, too, should say with them, that Popery, even whilst it is known to grasp at universal sovereignty, is to be far more wisely and effectually baffled by the "foolishness of preaching" than by Acts of Parliament, Royal oaths, or civil disabilities. Up to this point, then, we are one. "The fork in the road" has not made its appearance yet.

Let us see, then, how much further we can travel along the same path in amicable company with those who now differ from us. Few, very few, of these gentlemen who see Protestantism insulted

and endangered, and even the Crown and the Constitution threatened, by the Papal letter, would wish to restrict or curtail the religious freedom which, prior to the aggression, our Catholic fellow-subjects enjoyed without hindrance or challenge from any quarter. No! they will not be parties to any act of real intolerance. What the Papal Church in this country had been up to a very recent period, that it may continue to be—they have no desire to take from it one of its former powers or privileges—no disposition to inflict upon it any loss. Well! what were the powers and privileges of the Romish Church in these realms at the commencement of the present year, when nobody dreamt of peril to Protestantism, or to the Queen's "civil supremacy" from Papal encroachments? Rome had already divided the country into districts for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and she had placed over them "vicars apostolic," or, in other words, bishops with outlandish titles, holding authority direct from the Pope, and exercising all the powers which bishops under that system can possess. To this our friends saw no objection—in this they discerned no ground for alarm—this state of things never goaded them into a magnanimous resolution to save Protestantism, if need be, by flinging their dissent to the winds. All this while, however, Rome was just what she now is—equally political in her ends—equally insidious in her means—equally arrogant in her claims—equally tyrannical wherever she had the power. Then, as now, she mapped out the country—then, as now, she asserted the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope—then, as now, she claimed jurisdiction over all baptized persons—then, as now, she denied the Royal supremacy, and ignored the pretensions of our Anglican hierarchy and clergy. And yet with that state of things our friends saw no reason to interfere—felt no misgivings nor alarm. Nay! that state they would not even now consent to meddle with, lest in doing so they should be tampering with the principles of civil and religious liberty. We are with them up to this point. Up to this point they are open to precisely the same charges as we. Up to this point they are as guilty as ourselves, and not more, of overlooking the essentially political character of Popery, and of treating an ecclesiastical system which they regard "as the great personation of the selfish, the corrupt, and the tyrannical," by a strict reference to those principles of religious freedom which they would apply to every other and less objectionable ecclesiastical body.

And now we reach the precise spot at which they and we separate. The formerly existing ecclesiastical districts, eight in number, the Pope has re-arranged into twelve, and called them "dioceses"—and the "vicars apostolic," instead of being bishops with outlandish names, are made bishops with titles derived from some city or town in their respective dioceses—and the change is announced to us in a rescript breathing the old spirit of arrogance, which Rome knows not how to lay aside, and is commented upon in a Pastoral stuffed with the most magniloquent and absurd boasting which this world ever saw, except in Roman Pastorals and Chinese edicts. Here our former friends take leave of their confidence in Protestantism, and of us for maintaining it. Why they should do so we cannot satisfactorily to ourselves make out. Either they should have been alarmed before, or they should not be alarmed now. Popery has shown us no new phase of character—has put forth no new claim. If Protestantism was never perilled by having Roman Catholic bishops in its midst, we do not believe that it is placed in danger by changing the style and title of those bishops. If, when the thing was amongst us, we saw no ground for alarm, we cannot find any in the mere alteration of the name by which that thing chooses to designate itself. Does any man in his senses pretend to affirm that the self-same ecclesiastic, having the self-same power and influence, who, as Bishop of Hetalonia, neither endangers Crown, Constitution, Church, nor Protestantism, must, as Bishop of Birmingham, be formidable to all of them—so much more formidable than he was, that it becomes necessary to one's loyalty, patriotism, and religion, to join all England in



calling upon her Majesty and Parliament to prevent the assumption of the latter title? As we said before, so we repeat—the real question turned up by the Papal rescript is not between Protestantism and Popery, but between the rival hierarchies of Rome and England. We repeat, what some have twisted so much to our disadvantage, that we have far more fear of the prelates than of the Pope—not because we think the nature and dispositions of the former to be in themselves so objectionable as those of the latter, but because the former have power which the latter have not. And just as we should esteem our lives in greater danger from a wild-cat in our chamber, than from a tiger out of doors and chained, so we believe that vital godliness in these realms suffers greater detriment from the influence and *status* of our Anglican hierarchy, than it can do at present from those of the Roman hierarchy. The sting of the offence given by the Pope is in the title bestowed, and in the flourish of trumpets with which the alteration was announced to the world. But whatever real evil and danger exist to be protested against, existed, in substance and in power, as truly and as formidably at the end of last year as they do now. We have paid the Pope too high a compliment by the outcry we have raised against his letter. Our indignation and our fear express the exaggerated views we hold of his power to harm us—and because he has given to his hierarchy here an ordinary, in the place of a temporary, form, and bestowed on his bishops territorial, instead of imaginary, titles, we have acted as though the nation's Protestantism were at its last gasp, and the very throne and constitution tottering to their downfall. Some good, no doubt, will come out of the panic, for it has taught ourselves, as well as others, the extent of our own strength—but this by no means excuses our fright. It only resembles the exulting exclamation of a man who, having faced a turnip lantern, not without terrible agitation, and found out the imposition attempted upon his nerves, says, "Well, after all, I didn't suppose I had so much pluck in me!" When the country discovers, as it will before long, how remarkably small was the occasion of so vehement a burst of indignation, it will be able to console itself with the reflection that it is less Papistically inclined than it had taken itself to be. And this, we fancy, will be nearly the whole of its gain, *quoad* its relations to the Pope and Popery.

We have now vindicated, as best we were able, the position which we took up at the commencement of this agitation, and which we have as yet seen no reason for surrendering. We have shown that between us and others who hold our distinctive principles, there is no difference of view as to what Romanism is, whether ecclesiastically or politically—that they and we agree in thinking it not merely safe, but just, to tolerate it in this country, and to admit its adherents to an equality of civil rights—that they did not, any more than we, discover in a territorial arrangement of ecclesiastical districts, and in the appointment by the Pope of bishops to preside over them, sufficient reason to awaken alarm, nor to require resistance—but that they see in the assumption by these bishops of territorial titles imminent peril to our common Protestantism, and even danger to the throne, which we do not, and, therefore, will not pretend to do. Had we been able to carry out our first intentions, we would have made this act of the Pope's a fulcrum upon which to rest the lever of argument against every kind of alliance between the priestly and the magisterial power, and have attempted to turn the indignation of the people against the *primary cause* of the mischief protested against.

In attempting this, we have been overborne, not by argument, but by clamour. Foes have malignéd us, and friends have rebuked us. We regret it, because we believe that a noble opportunity has been foregone, and that whilst our friends have been fighting with a phantom, they have increased the priestly power which they had long been essaying to put down. And now we calmly wait the outcome. A few months will suffice to test the wisdom of the policy which has been so generally adopted. Glad enough shall we be to find our anticipations groundless—thankful, if State-supported prelacy do not show itself more exacting, more rampant, more arrogant than ever. We can only say that should the principles of religious freedom be assailed by the Legislature, bishop-ridden as it is, we shall rejoice to stand once more, side by side, with old comrades, in opposing to any such measures our heartiest opposition.

#### A FATAL "VICTORY."

IN the speech of Mr. J. J. Cummings, at the recent meeting of the Church of England laity, held at Freemasons' Hall, we find the following passage:—

"Whilst they were engaged in the present battle against the open and avowed assumptions of Rome, they should not forget the fight they had more quietly passed through—the battle fought, and the victory won, in the Privy Council of the country [cheers]—for it was that battle which had decided the spiritual liberty of the Church of England [cheers]. If the principle of sacramental grace, as upheld in that contest by the Bishop of Exeter—of that turning point, involved in the ques-

tion *ex opere operato* had then been established, every sound member of the Church of England, every sound preacher of the Gospel of God, would be bound to desert that Church [loud cheering]. In the event of an opposite decision, Rome would have triumphed as well as the Bishop of Exeter—the English Protestant Church would have sunk in the dust—her crown and glory would have fallen—and she might write 'Ichabod, Ichabod,' upon her walls. But having attained this glorious victory, through God's grace, and through His most wonderful providence, in raising unexpected instruments to vindicate the Reformation, liberty was now secured to the Church Establishment."

Such thankfulness for small mercies would at any time excite our wonder, but the manifestation of it just now indicates a marvellous short-sightedness. Did it not occur to the speaker that the judgment of which he speaks in such exultant strains, gave the same liberty to the Tractarian clergy to hold the principle of sacramental grace as to the Evangelicals, who reject it? and that the very dictum which foiled them then may prove their salvation now that they are likely to be dragged through the courts? Puseyism, as everybody knows, entrenches itself within the authorized formularies of the Church, and, to some extent, not without reason; and though a judgment positively confirmatory of its views, may, perhaps, not be attainable, who will say that the "comprehensive" principle established in the Gorham case will not prove an impregnable position? What will the Evangelicals say when the tables are thus turned upon them? They must be dumb.

### THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

WAKEFIELD.—On Thursday evening last a public meeting was held in the Music Saloon, Wood-street, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the Anti-state-church Association, and hearing their statements. John Kingsley, Esq., of London, and the Rev. Enoch Mellor, of Halifax (in the unavoidable absence of the Rev. J. Fletcher), attended as the deputation. At the time of opening the proceedings the attendance was rather thin, but about eight o'clock there was a numerous and respectable audience crowded into every available aperture of the room. The chair was taken by G. W. Harrison, Esq., a Wesleyan, and the ex-Mayor, who insisted that at the present time it was peculiarly incumbent on Anti-state-churchmen actively to promulgate their principles. Mr. Mellor and Mr. Kingsley were the principal speakers. The former delivered a very argumentative and very animated speech, which was much applauded; and Mr. Kingsley also appears to have made some happy hits. The Rev. E. Higginson (Unitarian) moved a vote of thanks to the deputation, but said that although he was with them in principle, yet he declined joining the Association until he saw such decisive plan of operations published to be pursued in the event of a separation of Church and State, as satisfied his scruples on the question. Until then he must decline giving in his adhesion to the movement. — *Abridged from the Wakefield Examiner.*

ISLINGTON.—On Thursday, the 5th inst., the last of the course of lectures under the auspices of the Islington Committee was delivered by Mr. E. Miall, at the Denmark-terrace School-rooms—subject: "The Union of Church and State injurious to the Social and Political Interests of the People." Lucid, graphic, and impressive, the lecture evidently told upon the audience, who received it with warm expressions of acquiescence. The Rev. F. Neller occupied the chair, and the Rev. A. Good, Mr. J. Soul, and Mr. Carvell Williams, briefly addressed the meeting at the close of the lecture, and in the course of the proceedings two or three allusions were made to the outrage committed at the No-Popery meeting on the 8th of November, as indicating the kind of spirit in which, in some quarters, the aggression of the Papacy had been met.

BRENTFORD.—A public meeting, convened by the Anti-state-church Association, was held at the Town Hall, Brentford, on Friday evening last, and was attended by a numerous and respectable audience, composed of persons belonging to every religious denomination in the town and neighbourhood. Apsley Pellatt, Esq., occupied the chair. J. Carvell Williams, Esq., and the Rev. G. B. Thomas, of Islington, attended as a deputation, and, together with other ministers and gentlemen, addressed the meeting—the first-named gentleman with much power and effect. The resolutions were passed almost unanimously, only three hands being held up against, condemnatory of the existing alliance of the Church with the State, pointing out the evils resulting therefrom, both in a religious and political point of view, and also hailing with deep satisfaction the evident growth in the public mind of this conviction. The audience manifested very warmly the interest they felt in the proceedings, by repeated expressions of approbation, and by their close attention for a period of about three hours, the meeting not being over until near ten o'clock.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.—A public meeting was held in the Baptist Chapel, on Wednesday evening, for the exposition of right principles on the subject of civil and religious liberty, and in connexion with the Anti-state-church Association. The attendance was large, numbering many persons belonging to the State Church. On the motion of the Rev. Mr. Aitcherson, seconded by Mr. Pratton, classical tutor at Stepney, the chair was occupied by Mr. Bontems. In opening the proceedings, he remarked that the

county of Hertford had not taken a prominent position in this movement; but he trusted that an influence would go forth from that meeting which would act upon the county, and upon the election of Parliamentary representatives [hear, hear]. Facilities were in existence for obtaining political power they never possessed before, and he invited the members of churches especially to take advantage of these facilities. The Rev. S. Green and Mr. Kingsley, who attended as a deputation, then addressed the meeting. The Rev. A. Aitcherson, who followed, in referring to the prevailing agitation, said, Dissenters had committed themselves to meetings and resolutions which would greatly grieve them hereafter, when the heat and commotion were over. He wanted really to know what was the cause of this Popish alarm? The Catholics had 680 places of worship in England, whilst the Baptists, one of the smallest of the Dissenting bodies, had more than 2,000. He saw no reason for people to disturb themselves so much. Why, in America they had no State Church, and the consequence of making Popish bishops there was just to weaken the Catholic power. Mr. J. I. Lockhart moved a vote of thanks to the deputation, to which Mr. Green replied, quoting from the letter of Mr. Bennett, to exhibit the strange admissions which clergymen made of their slavish position. Mr. Bontems was also thanked for presiding; and thus finished a very peaceable and intellectual meeting.—*Abridged from the Bucks Advertiser.*

### THE PAPAL HIERARCHY IN ENGLAND.

There have been several meetings during the week in the metropolis; the chief of which are noticed below. But indications are not wanting that the public is becoming weary of the strain upon its attention. Journalists are beginning entirely to exclude or narrowly to limit reports, documents, and letters. The *Times* cuts short Dr. Cumming's controversy with Mr. Bowyer, and ignores the Cardinal's sermon. In Scotland, it will be perceived, the excitement is getting up. In Ireland, the first signs of counter-movement are seen in Archbishop Cullen's "Pastoral," and in a meeting at Limerick to defend the liberties of Catholics. We can scarcely hope, under these circumstances, to relieve our columns just yet of the pressure thus put upon them.

#### DECLARATION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS OF LANCAHIRE.

Dr. Vaughan has forwarded to the papers a long and important document, adopted at a meeting of the Congregational ministers of Lancashire, convened by circular. "The attendance," he says, "was large, the discussion free and full, and the declaration was adopted paragraph by paragraph, and each without a dissenter."

The first paragraph concerns "the errors and vices of Romanism;" which are described in strong and epigrammatic language. The next paragraph distinguishes between the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy of the Queen. Against the latter, it is said, "Congregationalists have delivered their solemn protest during more than two centuries." "But," it is added, "the divided allegiance of the Romanist is of another kind." The Papal bull is described as "a document which proceeds from a foreign potentate, exercising both civil and ecclesiastical power in a foreign land; and which, at the same time, institutes territorial administrations, and confers titles derived from territory, in a manner which, whether wisely or not, has been hitherto unknown to the law and usage of this country, except as proceeding from the Crown. In these respects this Papal interference bears small resemblance to what is done by private persons, through private organizations, for the furtherance of benevolent or religious objects in this country, or in distant nations. Furthermore, this document proceeds as an authority professing by this one act to rescind and abolish all foregone enactments or usages affecting the condition of the English Romanists, 'whether apostolic, or issued in synodal, provincial, and universal councils;' it takes cognisance of the professed Romanists in this nation as being the one Church, openly disowning all other; it is not, however, with this remnant of our people merely that the bull is concerned, but, according to its language, and that of Dr. Wiseman in his 'Pastoral,' it is the 'country' in which these people dwell, this 'most flourishing kingdom of England,' that, by the force of this bare rescript, has been 'established as one ecclesiastical province,' to be henceforth subject in all things, as such, to the see of Rome. For this Papal edict not only assumes this absolute authority over the past and present, but makes provisions the most forecasting for securing to this power the same ascendancy among us in the time to come." In noticing the events which have contributed to induce this "aggression," "no small blame" is laid upon statesmen and Churchmen—on the former, for the civil endowment and State patronage of Romanism; and on the latter for Tractarianism. The two concluding paragraphs we give entire:—

If the question be now asked, what is to be done? our answer is, that the root of the evil will suggest the means of cure. Let us hear no more about schemes for the endowment of Romanism; on the contrary, let a voice go forth, as from all the Protestant Voluntaries of Great Britain, praying that the grants already made to that system, and all similar uses of public money, be henceforth discontinued. Let the commissioners now engaged with the affairs of our universities be apprised that what the age demands is a real, and not a seeming—a thorough, and not a partial reformation of those ancient semi-



nares—such a reformation as shall constitute them truly national institutions, fitting them for becoming fountains of health to the community, in place of sending forth those sickly influences which have proceeded from them of late years, until the whole land has become tainted by them. If the time be not come in which our endowed Church may be peaceably separated from the State, let that Church also, in the meanwhile, be subjected to a similar process of purification, casting away those vestiges of a superstitious and intolerant age which still cleave to her, especially as seen in the unconstitutional and oppressive jurisdiction of her ecclesiastical courts, and in the irritating exactions periodically made from the members of other communions in support of her services. Above all, let every Protestant communion in these nations give itself anew to the faithful preaching of the gospel of Christ; to the use of all available means collateral with the pulpit for the diffusion of popular instruction; to the careful education of the young; and to the upholding of a powerful public press; let these things be done with an earnest and devout heart, and the best possible check will have been given to Romanism, the strongest safeguard will have been placed about the throne of our beloved Queen, and the interference of our civil rulers, as far as regards dangers from Romanism, if needed at all, may be safely restricted to very narrow limits.

In the proceedings of our countrymen in relation to this question we have seen many things to disapprove, but greatly more to admire. We rejoice much in the sign so broadly given of our being still, to so great an extent, a soundly Protestant people; not likely to become the dupes of a wretched indifference, devoid equally of all great principle and just feeling, or of a crafty superstition that would readily denude us of our intelligence, liberty, and sanctified manhood.

#### PROTEST FROM ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. The humble address of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.

May it please your Majesty,

We, the archbishops and undersigned bishops of the Church of England approach your Majesty with sentiments of veneration and loyalty at a time when an unwarrantable insult has been offered to the Church and to your Majesty, to whom appertains the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil. This, our country, whose Church being a true branch of Christ's holy Catholic Church, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinances, is treated by the Bishop of Rome as having been a heathen land, and is congratulated on its restoration after an interval of three hundred years to a place among the churches of Christendom. The return of our people is anticipated to a communion, the errors and corruptions of which they deliberately renounced, and which continues to maintain practices repugnant to God's word; inculcates blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, and prescribes, as necessary to salvation, the belief of doctrines grounded on no warranty of Scripture.

It is part of the same arrogant assumption that in defiance of the law which declares that "no foreign prelate or potentate shall use and exercise any manner of power, authority, or jurisdiction—spiritual or ecclesiastical—within this realm, the Bishop of Rome has pretended to exercise spiritual dominion over the people of this country; and in nominating certain Romish ecclesiastics to particular places or sees in England has re-asserted his claim of supremacy over the kingdom, and has interfered with a prerogative constitutionally belonging to your Majesty alone.

We consider it our duty to record our united protest against this attempt to subject our people to a spiritual tyranny from which they were freed at the Reformation. And we make our humble petition to your Majesty to discountenance, by all constitutional means, the claims and usurpations of the Church of Rome, by which religious divisions are fostered and the labours of our clergy impeded in their endeavours to diffuse the light of true religion amongst the people committed to their charge.

J. B. CANTUAR.	G. PETERBOROUGH.
T. EBOR.	H. WORCESTER.
C. J. LONDON.	J. LICHFIELD.
E. DUNELM.	A. T. CHICHESTER.
C. R. WINTON.	T. ELY.
R. BATH AND WELLS.	S. OXON.
C. LINCOLN.	J. VOWLER ST.
J. BANGOR.	ASAPH.
G. ROCHESTER.	J. P. MANCHESTER.
H. CARLISLE.	R. D. HEREFORD.
J. H. GLOUCESTER	J. CHESTER.
AND BRISTOL.	S. NORWICH.
C. J. RIPON.	A. LLANDAFF.
E. SALISBURY.	J. SODOR AND MAN.

#### CARDINAL WISEMAN'S ENTHRONISATION AND FIRST SERMON.

The ceremonial prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church for the induction of an archbishop to his see was performed at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, on Friday, with less of pomp and scenical effect, it seems, than was expected. In the procession to the altar was the Cardinal, wearing a gorgeous mitre and pallium. A canopy, fringed with silk and gold, was borne over his path by "converts" exclusively. There were at least 200, between the secular clergy and the various religious orders, in the procession. The customary form of prayer having been read, the mitre, which had been exchanged for a small scarlet cap a short time before, was formally placed upon the head of the new archbishop, whilst the crosier, emblematic of his authority, was also placed in his hands. He was then conducted to the archiepiscopal chair, at the foot of which the whole body of the clergy made the usual obeisance—kissing the Cardinal's ring in recognition of his spiritual authority. High mass followed, after which the "bull" was publicly read. The new archbishop then ascended the pulpit, wearing his mitre and carrying the crosier, and delivered an address, in which he impressed upon his clergy the duties and obligations incidental to their important mission.

The archbishop's sermon on Sunday was of more general interest. It was, indeed, a supplement to

his now famous "Appeal." The changes effected by the substitution of titular bishops for vicars apostolic, are thus summed up:—

1. Not one of them has received or will receive any new consecration. Not one, in other words, will be one atom more a bishop than he was before.
2. Not one enlarges or alters materially the limits of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Some few counties are transferred from the limits of one former district to another, but these are only slight deviations from the principle of merely changing districts into dioceses.
3. Not one obtains any increased power or jurisdiction over clergy, or laity, or property, or trusts, or any person or thing. If anything, powers before held are curtailed or limited.
4. Not one probably will change his place of residence.
5. Not one will gain, by the change, any increase of emoluments or of income.
6. Not one acquires, or dreams of acquiring, the slightest alteration of social position, or legal addition of title or honour.

Each one remains where he was, and as he was, and what he was, with the sole change, so far as outward relations go, of the title which he bears. He, for instance, who was Bishop of Hetalonia is Bishop of Birmingham, where he has always lived in honour; he who was Bishop of Samosata is now of Hexham, and will no doubt continue to live at Darlington, where he has lived respected by all, till now.

The extent and fury of the prevalent agitation is thus sarcastically contrasted with the instrument that has occasioned it:—

Suppose that any one had told you six months ago that the Bishop of Rome had it in his power to throw this vast empire into convulsions, to upheave, by "the breath of his nostrils," the granite foundations of the noble British constitution; to shake to its basis the throne of our gracious Queen, which rests secure upon the affections of every subject (of none more than of Catholics); to despoil of its rights and prerogatives a church which has a thousand roots in the very substance of the nation; to emperil the religion of the Bible in all its various diramations, and finally to introduce all that has been a popular bugbear in Popery into your very families:—had anyone told you six months ago that the Bishop of Rome had power to do all this in England, you would have laughed, yes, you would have laughed to scorn the man, who should have presumed to tell you that he had such tremendous power.

And if, by way of jest, or through curiosity, you had asked the fanatic who told you so, by what wonderful machinery, by what magical agency he could do all this; and he had answered you: "By a scrap of paper, wherein he should desire the Catholic districts of England to be thenceforth called dioceses, and the Bishop of Trachis to be called Bishop of Beverley and the Bishop of Tloa to be called Bishop of Liverpool;" you would, I am sure, have considered the man little better than an idiot, who asserted or believed in such effects from such a cause.

It is again alleged that the bishops "as now constituted have straitened and not enlarged powers." It is asserted that if "a very few years, or perhaps even months ago, the question had been put to the great mass of the English people, 'Whom would you rather have to govern the Catholic Church in this island, the Pope's own vicars, or bishops belonging to the country?' the latter would have been preferred and chosen, as being more thoroughly native, English, and domestic, and as implying in name at least a less immediate connexion with that great object of Protestant prejudice, the Pope of Rome. Indeed, I have been assured," the Cardinal continues, "upon what I consider excellent authority (the late Sir John Cox Hippley), that even in 1799 Pitt suggested to Cardinal Erskine, as one good mode of diminishing English prejudices in regard to Catholics, that the bishops should cease to be vicars apostolic, and become local titulars."

Belgium and the United States are appealed to as examples of the non-interference of the Catholic Church with the established governments—the non-absolution from oaths of allegiance, &c. "What some are so busy in doing now, in this line, is as wise and as practical as it would be in one who knows nothing of law, to take up the Statute-book, and pretend to argue about the present practical state of the law, from the enactment of King Stephen and Richard I., without any reference to modern enactments, declarations, explanations, judgments, tacit repeals by desuetude, or actual usages and prescriptions." Two months, it is remarked, "have now elapsed since the Papal letter (for bull there has been none) was issued"—the bishops have assumed their titles—and now what is to be done? Protestants are warned that, though "new legislative enactments may be passed, as it has been suggested, whereby the obnoxious sound of new titles may be hushed, and the ears of the zealous be no longer offended by their utterance," yet "no amount of human legislation can touch the substance, annul the spiritual and organic structure of the Catholic body, or permanently derange its vital functions." There is much more of what has been not inaptly called "arrogant humility." We can only quote a sentence or two:—

As in religious imagery you see the holy martyr St. Stephen represented as having gathered into the folds of his dalmatic, like to precious gems, the stones with which he had been struck, what should a Christian bishop do else but bear the up-heaped indignities with him to the foot of the altar, and there find consolation in thought of Him who suffered mockery and scoffs, and false accusations, and buffets even, for our example and our sake. . . . The Catholic ritual for the first approach of a new bishop to his see, exhorts that the streets through which we have to pass be festooned with garlands, and his path strewn with flowers. For us, no doubt, it has been better that our road should have been hedged with thorns, and our way sown with briars. The more deeply and broadly any work bears the impression of the cross, the more surely does it come to us sealed of God. The episcopal dignity is an elevation of fearful duties and responsibilities; and it can never feel so safe

as when the height chosen for it by Providence is on Calvary, rather than on Thabar.

To this address the Bishops of Exeter and St. David's declined to affix their names. The latter was understood to withhold his signature "because of an expression deemed by him too harsh to be applied to any Christian." The Bishop of Exeter, however, drew up and forwarded to Sir George Grey his own personal memorial to the Queen; which was returned, on the ground that it differed in form from usual addresses to the Crown. The newspapers publish the letter of Sir George Grey, and a letter by the bishop on the form of his petition. The justification is founded mainly on the two points—that the bishop has "a reluctance to use the word 'pray' applied to any earthly sovereign in immediate juxtaposition with the words of prayer to the King of kings;" and that his position is strictly according to the precedent of that presented by the Seven Bishops to King James the Second. On this similarity Dr. Phillpotts observes—"True it is, that the petition of the Seven Bishops was not sent to the Secretary of State, but was presented to their sovereign by themselves; true also it is, that, instead of being returned to them, it was made the ground of an indictment for a seditious libel. In these respects, I fully admit that the two cases are not parallel." It seems that after all the objectionable passages did not appear in the address actually presented, but only in the draft which was first sent round to the bishops. The corrected copy was forwarded to "Exeter," but he still declined to subscribe.

#### MR. ROEBUCK TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

The great interest attaching to this epistle, induces us to give it here *in extenso*.

MY LORD,—Were parliament sitting the present letter would not be written, as I should then be able, in your lordship's presence, to speak that which I now feel compelled to write. The extraordinary circumstances of the present time induce me not to wait until the meeting of parliament, but at once to give expression to my opinions concerning the mischiefs which now threaten the peace of this empire; and I address myself to your lordship because I believe that great principles are in danger, and that to you is attributable the imminent risk to which they are exposed.

The great principles which are thus imperilled are those which your party, and the great leaders of your party, have, for above half a century, resolutely supported, and to which the chiefs of every party have, during the present century, rendered singular and honourable homage—which Mr. Pitt recognised and acted upon, when he resigned and broke up his Government in 1801; which Lord Grenville and the Whigs of his Cabinet obeyed when, in 1807, they left office rather than yield to the unconstitutional demand of the King, that they should pledge themselves never again, as a Ministry, to agitate the question of the Catholic claims; which governed the conduct of Lord Wellesley, Mr. Canning, Mr. Grattan, Lord Grey, and a host beside, during the long and wearisome contest that followed upon the great question of justice to be done to the Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown; and which, at length, my lord, induced the chiefs of your party, in 1829, and yourself, as one of their followers, to forego all considerations of personal ambition and party aggrandisement, and give a hearty assistance to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, when they, under compulsion, consummated, as we believed, the victory of common sense and justice, and, as we hoped, for ever laid the foul demon of religious intolerance by passing the celebrated measure for the relief of our Catholic fellow-subjects from all civil disabilities. These, my lord, are the great principles which I believe now to be in danger, and which you, in my opinion, have put in peril.

But still you may ask—"What are these principles?" And you may say, "Though you approve the acts you mention, it by no means follows that you understand the motives which led to them, or the principles which governed the conduct which you praise."

I will answer the question which I suppose thus put.

I believe, then, that the great men whose names I have cited, and whose deeds on the occasions referred to I have presumed to praise, thought that, in an empire like ours, in which are united under one Government people professing every description of religious belief, and who by law are permitted to exercise the right of private judgment, and to support by argument, both in writing and in spoken discourse, the truth and wisdom of their own opinions, any attempt to degrade by law, and by the imposition of civil disabilities, any one class of believers, was not merely unjust, but in the highest degree impolitic also, and that while any deprivation of civil rights for such a cause was a gross injustice and cruel injury—the affixing on them badges of social inferiority, because of the peculiarity of their faith, would be an insult more galling still than injury—and therefore it was that they said, make all men, whether Catholics or Dissenters, equal before the law; and let us, under the inspiration of a generous philosophy, and in accordance with the teaching of experience, be wise in time; and, forgetting those mournful days when the friends of freedom thought themselves compelled, for safety's sake, to be intolerant, erase from our laws those cruel and impolitic enactments which have made religion a curse instead of a blessing—a cause of hate, and strife, and weakness, in place of being a bond of peace, of unity, and strength.

In accordance with this dictate of justice and policy was the conduct of the Whig party when they, with great honour to themselves, aided their opponents in passing the Emancipation Act in 1829. They then gloriously belied the oft-repeated imputation upon one who was once a great Whig, and they did not

"Give up to party what was meant for mankind."

The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, I acknowledge, acted on this occasion upon considerations much narrower than those which were supposed to have moved the Whigs. He and his right hon. friend thought peace and the continuance of Roman Catholic disabilities impossible, and simply because Ireland was turbulent, the Duke of Wellington was content to be just. He was just, however, only by accident. What he thought expedient happened to coincide with what justice demanded.



Had his views of policy been different—had his iron will still resisted, he would have risked the chance of civil war, and scouted the Catholics and their claims.

But to you, my lord, I address myself as one of those who laid their superstructure of policy upon the broad foundations of a wise and generous morality. I may be wrong; but I will suppose you clearly to have understood the principles which you and your party enunciated. I will even believe that you really foresaw, and with a calm mind contemplated, the legitimate consequences of the act which you advised and supported. Remember, that your party drove the Duke of Wellington into concession,—most unwillingly he yielded; still more unwilling was Sir Robert Peel. By your support the Catholics of Ireland were made to gather courage and organize a resistance, which at length rendered civil war inevitable, if their claims had been any longer denied. During the long discussions which preceded the passing of the Emancipation Act every possible consequence of the measure was described and threatened. In spite, nevertheless, of every suggestion of danger, the Whigs insisted upon concession, and cannot now assert that they were not told and could not foresee what has since occurred. Neither party rage, nor love of office, nor of praise, could so have blinded you as to make the events of the last few weeks a surprise. If, indeed, they were not foreseen, then must you confess yourself a short-sighted politician. If, however, you did believe that such things might happen, your present indignation must be feigned, and put on to serve a purpose, or your past confidence was falsely assumed and equally intended to deceive.

I will not quote *Hansard* against you. I leave to others a task which, though to me ungrateful, will be pleasant to themselves and most amusing to their hearers. And by this time doubtless many a Parliamentary orator could take a degree on account of his knowledge of your Lordship's speeches. But, as I have no desire to convict you of mere inconsistency—and as I believe that even a most minute investigation of all that you have ever uttered in Parliament would not greatly conduce to my edification—I would rather address you as the Prime Minister of England than deal with your sayings as recorded in *Hansard*.

And now, my Lord, I will tell you why I believe these great doctrines of civil and religious liberty to be at the present time in danger. I will endeavour to give a reason for the fear that is in me.

I find the public mind of England stirred from one end of the kingdom to the other. I hear fierce denunciations hurled against one large class of our Christian brethren, and I see politicians nearly of all classes bending beneath the storm, and joining in the cry against Papists and the Pope; and I most sincerely assert that I am utterly at a loss to understand how a really tolerant people could be thus carried away by an intolerant feeling. Does any danger really exist? Seeing what the public feeling is—knowing, as I have for many years known, the strong anti-Catholic prejudice of my countrymen—I am not surprised at this outbreak. Simple downright intolerance is at the bottom of it. No real danger exists. It is not fear, but blind, intolerant hate, that has aroused the land; the same sort of feeling as that which, in 1780, roused the mobs of London against Sir George Saville, and made that madman Lord George Gordon a hero—the idol and leader of the people, is now exercising a fatal influence upon the good sense of the English people. This feeling you have most unfortunately countenanced; you have given dignity and importance to an antipathy which you ought carefully to have allayed; and, by your ill-timed support, have done your utmost to keep alive for years a detestable intolerance, of which in your heart I believe you to be thoroughly ashamed.

Where, again I ask, and what, is the danger? I am not frightened by words, but I wish to know what is meant by "Papal aggression?" Can the Pope acquire power over any man in England merely by nicknaming a man Archbishop of Westminster, or by giving him a large hat and a pair of red stockings, and dubbing him a Cardinal? Has the Pope acquired any actual territorial right or influence by what is called parceling out the kingdom of England? We are all equal before the law. He cannot invoke the power of the law, then, to persecute us into acquiescence in his doctrine. Upon what, then, is he to rely in order to gain influence over us? Persuasion. He and his emissaries must influence us through our reason; and we who pretend to rely upon the force of truth and the great safeguard of free discussion—we cower and tremble, and, like all cowards, bluster because a foolish old man, at the instigation of a crowd of intriguing priests, and a set of weak-minded, silly converts from our own to the Catholic Church, has thought fit to give a number of bishops English names—and, spite of our pretended confidence in the truth of our own opinions, and our bragging boasting of the efficacy of reason and of argument, we are all at once horribly alarmed, and fancy that we shall awake some morning and find ourselves irretrievably Catholic. This very statement shows how thoroughly ridiculous is the whole affair when viewed in this light; but far different is it when we reflect upon the feeling which really has created all this confusion. When we remember that hate—religious bigotry—is at the bottom of it all—when we remember that every Protestant priest, has, by religious antipathy, been roused into action—when we also bear in mind that every Catholic priest in England and Ireland has now been challenged to the combat—is it not clear, my lord, that your most unwise and unstatesmanlike letter has served as a trumpet to call into action the worst, and fiercest, and most dangerous passions that darken human reason, and harden the human heart? The work of years has in a moment been destroyed, and all the weary labour of eradicating those now vigorous weeds in our fair garden—religious hate and ecclesiastical intolerance—has again to be encountered. When you were a labourer at this work you had to aid you many Protestant sects then suffering under legal disabilities. These you helped to remove; and now that assistance will no longer be afforded to the friends of religious freedom, for every Protestant sect will band together on the one hand, and range themselves in fierce hostility to all the Catholics on the other. And now, my lord, I put to you the question which you, as a statesman, ought long since to have asked yourself—*How is Catholic Ireland to be governed?* The immense majority of the people of Ireland are Catholic; will they not now be excited to the same frantic pitch in support of their religion as that which now agitates England against it, and upon the same principles upon which Protest-

ants in England determine to keep down the Catholics? Will not Catholics in Ireland assert their own pre-eminence in that country, and insist upon equality, at least, in the baneful right of persecution? And here, possibly, I shall have the Pope brought forward, and I shall be insulted by being asked if I believe the people of Ireland bear allegiance to Queen Victoria? Let me answer this question by another. If, in fact, Catholics bear a divided allegiance—if by their religion, as we hear, they really give one-half of their obedience to the Pope—if this be a tenet of their faith, how, I ask, is their allegiance affected or diminished by the nominal distribution of England into Catholic sees? Let us, if we will, fulminate an act of Parliament against the Catholics—does anyone suppose that their faith will be in the slightest affected thereby? We cannot make people loyal by act of Parliament; we cannot, by excluding certain names, keep out the doctrines of the Catholic religion. But what we can do is to keep up religious dissension; we may make the empire a divided empire; we may band Protestant against Catholic, England against Ireland; and to you, my lord, posterity will refer as the man who, just when the real difficulties were conquered—when, by the united and continuous labours of our greatest statesmen, the law had become just, and peace and goodwill were about to be established, took advantage of your great position to rouse up the spirit of strife and hate among us, to quicken into active life the demon of persecution, and to rend asunder a great empire, which, but for your fatal interference, would soon have become firmly united, peaceful, and prosperous. A melancholy distinction this, my lord, for one who, all his life, has styled himself the friend of religions as well as civil freedom! Your common sense must long since have been shocked at the wretched fanaticism you have evoked, and which, unfortunately, you will find a spirit beyond your power to lay.

I remain, my lord, your obedient servant,

Milton, Dec. 2.

J. A. ROEBUCK.

#### MEETINGS IN AND ABOUT THE METROPOLIS.

The much-expected meeting of lay members of the Church of England was held on Thursday at Freemasons' Hall. Lord Ashley presided, and among the speakers were—Mr. Childers, M.P., Mr. Plumptre, M.P., Lord Charles Russell, Sir Edward Parry, Sir C. Aldis, the Earl of Chichester, Mr. O'Malley, Q.C., Mr. J. J. Cumming, and Mr. R. Bevan. The whole tide of oratory was turned against the Puseyites, though the late act of the Pope was, of course, strongly condemned in passing. Lord Ashley spoke for two hours, and was unusually excited. "We do not stand here," said his lordship, "to ask for penal enactments—we do not stand here to demand the re-imposition of former disabilities—we do not stand here to trespass a hair's breadth upon the rights of any of our fellow-subjects [hear, hear]—but we do stand here to say that, under God's blessing, they shall not trample upon ours [immense cheering]. We wage no war with the Roman Catholics of these realms; but we do declare interminable war against the Pope and his cardinals" [renewed cheers]. The laity of the Church of England loved their Church, but in order that that love be retained, the Church must continue to be scriptural.

If it changes its character, and ceases to be such, the laity will lie under the same duty—aye, and they will entertain the same feelings as their forefathers of old, who, disregarding everything but the profession of the truth and the honour of God, broke, without remorse and without apprehension of hazard, from the unholy and unscriptural Church of Rome [loud cheers]. Now, I speak only for myself, though I know in what I say I shall find a response from many hearts in this room, and from many thousands in the country. I say, then, that, if driven to that necessity, which God, in his goodness, avert, I would rather worship with Lydia upon the banks of the river side [great cheering]—I would rather, I say, worship with Lydia upon the banks of the river side, than with hundreds of surpliced priests in the temple of St. Barnabas." [At the close of this sentence, which the noble lord had to repeat, the whole meeting simultaneously rose, and testified their satisfaction by loud and prolonged cheering.]

All the speakers held the same strain, and Lord Ashley declared that "the spirit shown had lifted him out of despair;" adding the exhortation, "I hope you will labour day and night, and not let slumber visit your eyelids till there has been completed that great consummation, when 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the channel of the sea.'"—At Hackney, a meeting was held yesterday week. Dr. Croly was the orator of the occasion, and declaimed with his accustomed vigour on the duty of the Queen and Government. Mr. Charles Green produced, by his courageous expression of dissent, a scene of the wildest confusion. "The simple question at issue was, whether the Catholics enjoyed, equally with Protestants, the right to have their own ecclesiastical government [immense confusion, and cries of 'No Popery!']. He would cry 'No Popery' as vehemently as any of them, but he would add 'No Protestant Popery! No Popery from within' [hisses, groans, and cheers]. The privileges they claimed for themselves they were bound to concede to others, whatever their creed [groans and cheers, and cries of 'To hell with the Pope!']. That cry was the most senseless that ever had been raised in this country [immense tumult]. Of all the insane cries that had ever been raised in England, it was the most insane [cheers, hisses, and groans]. What they now complained of had existed for years in Ireland and the colonies [uproar]. They were fighting and raising all this noise, not for a thing, but for a name [mingled cheers and hisses]. There was a geographical definition of the jurisdiction of the vicars-apostolic as well as of the newly-appointed bishops [hear, hear, cheers and groans, and great tumult]. In the name of tolerance—in the name of common-sense—he protested against this." Mr. Green at length retired amid the cheers of about one-third of the meeting, and a hurricane of groans from the

majority. The rest of the proceedings was "one uninterrupted roar." Resolutions were proposed, seconded, and declared to be carried, and an address to the Queen was waved in the air, but no speaker could obtain a hearing, and it was found impossible to read a single word of the address.—At Tottenham, a meeting was got up by the laity of the Establishment and the Dissenters, the clergy having declined to interfere. The vicar attended to oppose, in vain, the condemnation of the Puseyite clergy, and to deprecate the revival of anti-Catholic laws. The Rev. Mr. Williams (Independent) seconded the address, which the Rev. R. Wallace (Baptist) opposed in a forcible speech, listened to with impatient confusion.

#### MEETING OF EAST LONDON PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

A great meeting of East London Protestant Dissenters was held on Wednesday evening, at Wycliffe Chapel. The Rev. Dr. Reed was in the chair. The first resolution was moved by the Rev. W. Woodhouse, Independent, and seconded by the Rev. Archibald Black, of the Scotch Church. The second was moved by the Rev. Charles Stovel, Baptist, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Spencer, of the Established Church. "Of these speeches," says the *Patriot*, "we can only say, they were most masterly, carrying the audience with them in every particular; they were free from all personal feeling and invective, while dealing plainly with the system of Popery and the designs of the Pope. The second resolution," our contemporary continues, "was very strongly worded, condemning all establishments of religion, and objecting to the dominance of any spiritual power, whether in the Church of England or the Romish Church; and this was seconded, clause by clause, by the clergyman before referred to. Notwithstanding this, just when the meeting was about to adopt it, Mr. Crellin presented himself, and caused much confusion, by insisting upon proposing an amendment, demanding the separation of the Church and State as the only remedy for the errors of Popery. This did not meet with a seconder; and this gentleman still attempting to speak, the vote of the meeting was taken, when it was decided, by an almost universal voice, that he could not be heard, and the original resolution was adopted with enthusiasm, only one voting against it."

Mr. Crellin has addressed to the *Patriot* and to ourselves a letter respecting the meeting thus described. "It is necessary for me," he says, "to say,—

In defence of my apparently needless interference, that, not only was nothing said by any speaker which might not have been said at a meeting of Churchmen, but that much that was spoken would have been given utterance to far more appropriately amongst Churchmen exclusively, than to an audience the majority of whom were Dissenters; the meeting being held in a Dissenting chapel, presided over by its minister, and being generally supposed to be a meeting of the Dissenting congregations in the East of London. Further, with regard to this second resolution, that there was not, I believe, a single sentence spoken by Mr. Stovel or Mr. Spencer to enforce or illustrate its sentiments; it is evident there could not be any such from the latter without the greatest inconsistency on his part. It is not for me to explain how such a resolution could be entrusted by the Committee to a clergyman, nor how he could accept it, even for the purpose of giving it the go-by. As a Dissenter resident in the district, I felt myself compromised by these proceedings, and, accordingly, took the readiest mode of protesting against them, and I do not fear that any Dissenter who respects himself, or values the principles he holds, will blame me for interrupting the harmony of such a meeting. It is true that I was not permitted to speak on my amendment; but those who attend public meetings know how much this matter lies with the Chairman. It was not Dr. Reed's wish that I should press any amendment against a resolution prepared by himself and the other projectors of the meeting, and he acted accordingly. Justice, to say nothing of courtesy, demanded a different course at his hands to that he took.

#### POLLING A PARISH—ST. LEONARD'S, SHOREDITCH.

A public vestry of the ratepayers of this extensive and populous parish, St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, convened by the churchwardens, in pursuance of a numerously signed requisition, was held on Thursday night, at seven o'clock, in the vestry of the parish church. (This parish contains an area of six square miles, six district churches, and a population of 110,000.) Mr. John Airy, the upper warden, was moved to the chair. An adjournment was then proposed to the church, but on Mr. Clement, the under warden, and a respectable witness, going to the church, the doors were found to be locked. The sexton was then called, and he said that the vicar, in his presence, locked the doors several hours before, and took away the keys in his pocket. An adjournment was then moved to the parish workhouse, Kingsland road, to which the assembled parishioners, several hundreds, wended their way, and immediately the spacious chapel of that establishment was appropriated for the meeting. Mr. Airy having resumed the chair, Mr. Dean, a Dissenter, moved the customary resolution. He said he had hoped that the rev. gentleman whose resolution he now moved would have been there, but the time of the vestry having been announced for three o'clock (which the authorities knew to be illegal) his clerical duties now necessarily prevented his attendance. He, however, was an Englishman, and felt as an Englishman, and must confess his alarm and indignation at the Papal aggression. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Howe, a Nonconformist, and member of the Anti-state-church Association. That gentleman read a written speech, in which he at some length declaimed against the Pope and Romish innovations, and the influence of Popish priests on our wives and daughters. He further urged Dissenters to unite with the clergy of the Church of England. Mr. Flanders, a churchman, seconded the resolution, and it was supported by Mr. Pearce, one of the deputation to the Bishop respecting the Popish practices of the vicar.

Mr. Boggis said, he had an amendment to propose—the resolution did not go far enough. He was opposed to any State Church. Great confusion en-



sued, during which he was inaudible to the general body of the meeting, and was understood to move, as an amendment, "That this public vestry, having had under its consideration the apostolical letter of the Pope, claiming spiritual jurisdiction in this country, and dividing it into dioceses, expresses its surprise and indignation at the arrogant assumption involved in such a proceeding; but it is also opposed to similar claims of authority asserted or exercised by any other hierarchy, from whatever source it may profess to have derived its authority."

Mr. Charles Bennett, a Wesleyan Methodist, seconded the amendment. After repudiating the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, he denounced all priestly domination, and remarked upon the anomalous position of his friend Mr. Hows, as a member of the Anti-state-church Association. With what consistency could he (Mr. Hows) stand up to defend a church which tomorrow he would abolish? [applause.]

Mr. Pickford, in supporting the amendment, contrasted Lord John Russell's letter with those of Mr. Hume and Mr. Roebuck [cheers]. He asked a plain question and wanted a plain answer—Either the Pope and the Catholics had violated the law of the land, or they had not. If they had, point out in what manner. If they had not, he asked, what was it that was wanted? "Do you want new laws to be made to meet this case?" he continued. "Do you want the penal statutes that have been repealed to be re-enacted? Do you want to commence a new era of persecution for opinion's sake? [cries of "No, no, no."] You either want something of that sort, or you do not know what you want, and your resolutions and your addresses to the Queen are all moonshine? If you allow the Government to persecute the Catholics in any degree, do you think the Dissenters, or Quakers, or Jews, will always be safe from persecution?" [cries of hear, hear.] They might safely treat the Pope and his bulls with contempt. They had little to fear from the Catholic bishops, but they had a thousand times more to fear from the bishops of the Established Church [great cheering]. The Romish bishops could not compel us to contribute one farthing towards their support, but the bishops and parsons of the Church of England robbed the people of twelve millions of pounds sterling every year [great cheering]. The Established Church of England cost more than the whole government of America [cheers, and cries of "Shame"].

Mr. James Kirkham said: The resolution affirms what is not true; it says that the Pope, in dividing this country into dioceses, is setting at naught the royal prerogative. The Pope has done nothing by his late act which he has not done for a long time before—nothing but what the law gives him a perfect right to do. As to an infringement of the royal prerogative, that is neither more nor less than arrant nonsense; for unless it can be shown that the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops is part of the royal prerogative, to talk of the Pope's act being an infringement of it is simply absurd. I am utterly at a loss to understand how men calling themselves Dissenters and Voluntaries can entertain such views—they must either be recreant to their professed principles, or they do not understand them. The only safeguard against spiritual tyranny, from any quarter, is a total separation of Church and State. Let every party be self-supporting, and elect its own ministers; we should then have a clergy more attentive to their duties, and a people more attentive to their instructions [cheers].

The Chairman put the amendment and resolution to the meeting, when he declared there appeared, for the amendment, 72; against, 122.

Mr. Pickford then demanded a poll on the amendment, amidst a storm of disapprobation; he, however, persisted in his demand.

Mr. Pearce said, whatever might be the result of the poll he was sorry it had been demanded, as it was unprecedented throughout the country; but he had a resolution to put, in which he thought they would all be unanimous. After some further remarks, he moved a resolution to the effect, "That the meeting viewed with alarm and disapproval the introduction of Romish principles and practices into the teaching and worship of the Established Church of England, by which the recent aggression of the Pope had been encouraged and promoted."

Mr. Bennett seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Pearce then moved, and Mr. Baker seconded, a resolution, "That the vestry having been informed that the vicar had taken away the keys of the church, after the special request of the poor-rate trustees, made through the upper churchwarden, for the use of the church for the vestry held that evening, deserves the severe censure of the parishioners, and that the same was thereby given."

The resolution was carried with unanimous cheers, there being only one dissident out of about 300.

The Chairman then appointed the poll on both questions to take place on Tuesday, and close on Wednesday next.

We shall give the progress of the poll in our Postscript.

#### PROVINCIAL DEMONSTRATIONS.

The county of Flint meeting, mentioned in our last, was rendered peculiar by the fact that the High Sheriff being none other than Lord Fielding, a recent convert, the meeting was convened by him—not in the language of the requisition, which was signed by several noblemen, and nearly a thousand freeholders—but "to consider the effect of the late ecclesiastical arrangements of the Catholic Church in this country, and, if thought necessary, to address her Majesty on the subject." This attempt to lead off

the county gave great offence. The venerable Lord Mostyn, who is in his eighty-third year, was voted into the chair, amidst general applause, and an address to her Majesty was unanimously agreed to.

At the Wilts county meeting, Sidney Herbert, as county member, was principal speaker, and contrived very cleverly to fence with the imputations made on his Protestant character.—The Town Council of Leicester have adopted a memorial to the Queen, but not without a vigorous resistance. Mr. Alderman Harris, M.P., seconded the motion, and expressed himself "much pleased with Lord John Russell's letter." From what he had seen of Catholics in the House of Commons, however, "he had no reason to complain of them." Mr. Alderman Fielding, as a Dissenter, objected to the Queen's supremacy, but supported the address. Mr. W. Biggs proposed a counter-memorial, in an able speech, repeating and enlarging upon the arguments he used at the public meeting. He twitted the Dissenters with their inability to recommend what course should be taken with the Catholic bishops without infringing their own principles; and reminded them that it was with their acquiescence, and from hatred to Popery, the Test Act was passed under Charles the Second, from which they themselves so long suffered. What, he asked, was their *modus operandi*? What would be the result of stripping these bishops of their titles? He had that morning received a letter from a Catholic priest (Mr. Sing, of Derby), from which he (Mr. B.) would read an extract:—"As for ourselves, we are prepared; and if a bill is introduced to make it penal to bear territorial titles, I do not doubt, in a week after it has passed, all our bishops will joyfully incur the risk of imprisonment; and then by suffering we shall conquer. When all are lodged in prison, what is religious liberty will be better considered by Dissenters and others" [hear]. Mr. W. Biggs concluded by moving the amendment, which was almost word for word the memorial adopted by the Dissenters of Kettering, and was the production, he believed, of a rev. gentleman (Rev. T. Toller) residing there, and brother to a gentleman of this town and a member of the Town Council of Leicester ["hear," from Mr. G. Toller, and laughter]. This memorial was so well and eloquently expressed—so calm, temperate, and truthful—that he (Mr. B.) was gratified to have this opportunity of submitting it to the council. As it has before appeared in our columns, we need only give here one or two emphatic sentences:—

We conceive that in nothing have the proceedings of our Catholic fellow-subjects infringed upon the Royal supremacy as defined and established by law in these realms. The Sovereign of England is the supreme spiritual head of the Church of England. If the head, or members of any other church, presume to appoint functionaries, or enforce regulations of inferior government in the Church of England, they violate the supremacy of our gracious Queen. But as she is the head of the Anglican Church only, surely the members of the Roman Church are guilty of no invasion of her prerogative in regulating the affairs of their own Church, of which it is universally admitted she is not the head.

Mr. John Biggs briefly supported the amendment; Mr. Toller declared he could not, as a lawyer, vote for it; and ultimately the address was carried by 20 to 7.—At Sheffield a meeting has been held, from which Dissenters were carefully excluded by the terms of the announcement—"such Protestant inhabitants of the town of Sheffield and its neighbourhood as acknowledged her Majesty the Queen to be supreme governor in these realms over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil." Notwithstanding, a very divided and angry assembly took place. Canon Trevor led the Tractarian opposition, which was excited by the allusions of one of the earliest speakers to Puseyism and the wooden horse of Troy. Every mention of treachery in the Church provoked hisses, but the address was allowed to be carried. Mr. Trevor defended Cardinal Wiseman from the impeachment of his veracity, brought forward by a lay disciple of Dr. Cumming. On the vote of thanks to Lord John Russell—which, apparently to the surprise of the audience, was seconded by James Montgomery, the venerable poet—both parties tried their strength, and both claimed the majority; but the Chairman declared the motion carried. "Three cheers for Canon Trevor" were overborne by three times three for the Queen; followed by the Doxology.—Mr. Larkin has delivered at Newcastle-on-Tyne a lecture on Lord John Russell's anti-Papal manifesto. He described it as a *russe* on the part of that nobleman to raise "political capital," and to arrest the progress of useful reform amongst the people. The lecturer quoted Mr. Edward Miall, and read some copious extracts from the Rev. Newman Hall's admirable address on the "No-Popery" cry. There were present about 1,000 persons, by whom Mr. Larkin was cheered throughout his long and eloquent lecture.—At the meeting at Dudley, the Rev. W. Palmer, Unitarian, declined to propose an amendment, but would not let it go forth to the world, that "a Dudley meeting had agreed to address the Queen to restrict the liberty of a portion of their fellow-subjects without one dissentient voice."—At Stockton, after several speakers had advocated extreme measures, the Rev. J. McDowell rose from the body of the meeting, and attempted to propose an amendment, but was prevented by the Chairman, as "being out of order." He asked, Was it just to call upon the State to deprive our Roman Catholic brethren of the privileges they possessed? He hoped they were not afraid for Protestantism. As for the Pope, he entertained the most supreme contempt for him [laughter]. The best way to oppose error was to give the people a thorough intellectual, moral, and religious education. Until then, we were in danger of being enslaved, not only by the Papacy, but by other ecclesiastical cor-

porations, amongst the number, by the Methodist Conference" [hear, and applause]. The Rev. P. Samuel, Wesleyan minister, amidst great confusion and uproar, declared with much warmth his readiness to defend the Methodist Conference [cries of "Order!" "Chair, chair!"] "Mr. Samuel's friends," says the *Darlington Times*, "with great difficulty, and by the exertion of some degree of force, at length induced him to sit down." On Sunday, Mr. McDowell lectured to a numerous audience on the "great principles of religious liberty."

The *Stroud Free Press*, a new journal, contains a full report of a large meeting held at the Subscription-rooms in that town yesterday week, and in vindication of the great principles of civil and religious liberty. The Chairman was W. Barnard, Esq. The Rev. T. F. Newman proposed the first resolution:—

That this meeting declares its firm and devoted attachment to the great principles of the Reformation, and utterly repudiates the spiritual domination of the Papacy, as a power which has ever shown itself hostile to the principles of civil and religious liberty, to the true spirit and teaching of the Word of God, and, consequently, to the best and highest interests of man.

The speaker showed that Popery must distress and cripple the intellectual powers, by forbidding free inquiry, and destroying the independence of the mind—that it leaves the soul blinded in sin, and lulls the conscience to sleep—that it weakens or annihilates the power of moral restraint, and must therefore be unfavourable to the personal character and social condition of man. He added: "Moreover, Popery breathes the spirit of despotism; at this hour it is linked in with all the tyrannies of Europe; while, under its own malignant influence, it imposes the yoke on every man who will bow to its claims. All are slaves, from the novice to the very Pope. Such a system must be unfriendly to the liberties of mankind. John Foster, and when I mention his name you are reminded of an intellect mighty, capacious, keen-sighted, and far-seeing.—John Foster said, 'I believe there is essentially and inseparably in Popery a deadly tendency to the welfare of a State.' Sir, think you not that the present Pope would fain see our beloved Queen doing penance, like Henry, or on her knees receiving, like John, her regal crown at the hands of his legate?" Mr. T. Parsons seconded the resolution. Mr. Nathaniel Partridge said: This meeting had been called because the former had recognised the supremacy of the Queen. He did not know what reason those gentlemen had to complain of the Queen's supremacy, for her Majesty had left them to make up their supremacy among themselves. The first resolution on being put was carried unanimously. Rev. T. Nicholas, of Stroud, moved the second resolution:—

That this meeting expresses its unshaken loyalty to the Throne, and its determination to uphold her Majesty's civil authority against all foreign aggression.

He did not say Queen Victoria ought not to be royally supreme over the so-called Church of England, while that Church was established and possessed of such enormous power through its status and wealth. He would rather say—while the revenues of that Church exceeded ten millions a-year, and while history and the present state of things proved that they are liable to such abuses—may her Majesty retain her authority, and see what the men do, and whither the money of the nation goes. He confessed that the conviction was forced upon him, that the Pope thirsted for nothing less than universal domination. He had claimed a right to snatch crowns from the heads of kings, and replace them only when they had rendered him abject homage. He had released subjects from allegiance to their own sovereigns, and desolated the nations, to promote the dominion and wealth of Rome. And he would do it again whenever he had the power. That meeting preferred the rule of Victoria [loud cheers throughout]. The Rev. S. Thodey seconded the resolution. Four red-hot shot into the system of Antichrist (said the speaker); burn it; but save the men [loud applause]. He rejoiced that all over England there was with one voice a cry to renounce the friendship of the Pope, and deny his impudent assumption that England was ready to go over to Rome. The public were not to be satisfied till throughout every city, town, and village, the abhorrence of Popery was manifested. This resolution was not put; but as an expression of the loyalty of the meeting, the Chairman proposed singing two verses of the national anthem, which was accordingly done. Rev. W. Yates moved the third resolution:—

That it is perfectly consistent with the allegiance due to her Majesty Queen Victoria as a temporal sovereign, and with the most unswerving loyalty to the recognised civil authorities of the realm, to acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ alone as the head of the Church and the Word of God as the only rule in all ecclesiastical affairs.

If Lord John Russell were sincere let him make no more grants to support Popery. Mr. Randall seconded the resolution, briefly mentioning his firm adherence to Nonconformity, and abhorrence of Popery in every form. Rev. B. Parsons, of Ebley, moved the fourth resolution:—

That this meeting is desirous to record its conviction that any attempt of the civil power to restrain any of her Majesty's subjects in the free exercise of their religious opinions would be opposed to the true spirit of Christianity; and an obstacle to that freedom of thought and action which is essential to vital religion, by the influence of which this meeting fully believes that all established forms of error will ultimately be overthrown.

He felt that as all the resolutions had been unanimously carried, so this would be. He would briefly mention the four objects they embraced. 1st. Opposition to Popery, because it upheld civil, political, and spiritual domination. 2nd. Loyalty to our Sovereign. 3rd. In our religion, acknowledging no



head but Christ, and no guide but the Bible; and, lastly, whilst holding these opinions ourselves, we were anxious that every one should enjoy religious liberty. These propositions he believed were held by the best portion of the inhabitants of the borough of Stroud, and he would say of the British empire. He had heard incidentally that some expressions of disloyalty to her Majesty had been attributed to him, from a misunderstanding of what he had said at a late meeting. He need scarcely say those expressions were totally unfounded. With respect to her Majesty, if every one of the potentates of Europe were put into one scale, and Queen Victoria into the other, he believed she would outweigh them all. He did not wish his working friends to think that in thus expressing his loyalty, he meant in any way to give up one of the six points of the Charter. No. All he intended was this—he would sooner have the Queen as chief magistrate than all the Presidents in the world. The resolution was carried unanimously.—At Haverfordwest (writes a correspondent) a meeting was got up by the clergy, aided by the Rev. E. Davies (Calvinistic Methodist). The latter gentleman, in the course of his speech, cited the Birkenhead riot as a proof of what Catholics would do if they had the power, when a voice exclaimed, "Remember Miall at Islington!" J. H. Morgan, Esq., M.D., moved an amendment, proposing to memorialize the Queen to guard the religious liberties of all her subjects; but, as few Dissenters were present, the original address was adopted.—A meeting has been held at Preston of "Protestant Dissenters and others;" the last two words having been inserted in the announcement convening the meeting because the mayor, who is a Churchman, was to take the chair. The speeches were perfectly accordant one with another, and with the terms of mutual toleration on which the meeting was held. The Rev. W. Walters declined to take part in the demonstration, and has published an able letter, explanatory of his reasons for dissent.—At Chesham (Bucks), Mr. Hamilton, of the *Bucks Advertiser*, delivered a forcible speech, which was listened to with patience and occasional applause; but the resolutions were carried unanimously.

## MR. HENRY VINCENT.

Mr. Vincent has given two addresses in the large public hall of Rochdale on civil and religious liberty in relation to the people, the politicians, the Pope, the cardinals, and the bishops. Notwithstanding the charge for admission, the building was crowded by all classes; a large number of ladies were also present. The *Manchester Examiner* has reported the lectures at length. Amongst the company present were John Petrie, Esq.; Jacob Bright, Esq.; Green Bank; George Ashworth, J.P.; Roach House; Henry Kelsall, Esq., J.P.; Butts; James Tweedale, Esq., high constable, Roach Mills; Robert Pagan, Esq.; Oliver Ormerod, Esq.; James Chadwick, Esq.; George Craven, Esq.; Samuel Heape, Esq.; Robert Kelsall, Esq.; Daphill Hill; Grattan Bright, Esq.; Green Bank; James Thompson, Esq., of Manchester; George Ashworth, Jun., Esq.; John Lawton, Esq.; Butts; John Whittaker, Esq.; John Thomson Payan, Esq.; James Petrie, Esq.; Thomas Turner, Esq.; Edward Ashworth, Esq.; Roach House; —Cheetham, Esq.; Heywood; John Heape, Esq.; Joseph Petrie, Esq.; James Ashworth, Esq.; Charles Walker, Esq.; Samuel Taylor, Esq.; and W. W. Barton, Esq.

John Petrie, Esq., who was in the chair, briefly introduced the lecturer. Mr. Vincent entered at great length upon his subject, and carried his audiences completely with him, as he urged Dissenters and Liberals not to take a position at the present crisis that might endanger religious liberty. The fact of the endowed Church of England being the only professing Protestant Church tending to Rome was forcibly pointed out. The importance of Dissenters firmly abiding by their own distinctive principles was also urged amid great cheering. The tricks of the politicians and endowed ecclesiastics were exposed; and roars of laughter followed the reading of the following verses, which Mr. Vincent said might be regarded as the affectionate appeal of a staunch Church and State-man to wicked Dissenters. The poem is entitled,

## MOTHER CHURCH AND THE CHERRY TREE.

See those cherries! how they cover  
Yonder sunny garden wall!  
Had they not this network over,  
Thieving birds would eat them all.  
So, to guard our Church and pensions,  
Ancient sages wove a net,  
Through whose holes of small dimensions,  
Only certain birds can get.  
Shall we, then, this network widen?  
Shall we stretch those sacred holes,  
Through which e'en already slide in  
Certain small Dissenting souls?  
"Heaven forbid!" Old Testy crieth;  
"Heaven forbid!" so echo I—  
Every ravenous bird that flieth  
Then would at our cherries fly.  
Ope but half an inch or so,  
And behold how birds do break in;  
How some curst old popish crow  
Pops his long and liquorish beak in.  
There Socinians flock unnumbered,  
Independents elude and spare;  
Both, with small belief encumbered,  
Slip in easy anywhere.  
Methodists, of birds the aptest  
Where there's picking going on;  
And that water-fowl, the Baptist—  
All would have our fruits anon.  
Every bird of every clime,  
That for years of ceaseless din  
Hath reversed the starling's duty,  
Singing out, "I can't get in."  
If less costly fruit won't suit them,  
Hips and haws, and such like berries—  
Curse the cormorants! shoot them!  
Anything to save the cherries!

Mr. Vincent concluded by a vigorous appeal in favour of separating Church and State, which was followed by long-continued cheers. The second meeting was very crowded, and at the close of the lecture, Jacob Bright, Esq., jun., moved, and George Ashworth, Esq., Justice of the Peace, seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously with great applause:—

That this meeting desires to record its firm and unalterable attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty. It believes that all the inhabitants of these islands ought to enjoy unrestricted freedom in matters of religion, without consulting the Commons, Lords, or Crown. It believes that Jesus Christ is the sole head of Christian believers on earth; and that serious mischief has accrued to religion, liberty, and education, by the fatal policy of uniting Church and State. And this meeting earnestly calls upon the people of England to manifest their fealty to the gospel, and their loyalty to freedom, by demanding that the Legislature, instead of enacting laws to oppress any religious body, will repeal all laws now in existence that give dominancy to any sect; thus freeing religion from its alliance with the State, and removing those great temptations of wealth and splendour that attract the cupidity of politicians and priests, and make the Legislature and the nation the battle-ground of rival and corrupt hierarchies.

We are happy to notice that this important resolution has been advertised in the *Times*, *Daily News*, and other papers.

On Thursday and Friday, Mr. Vincent addressed two large meetings on civil and religious liberty in the Town-hall, Newbury, Berks; the Rev. Mr. Drew in the chair. Mr. Vincent carried the large audiences with him as he urged the importance of using the present crisis to further the separation of Church and State.—At Farnham, Surrey, Mr. Vincent has addressed two crowded meetings.

## SCOTLAND.

An Anti-state-church resolution has been all but carried in the Town Council of Edinburgh. In consequence of the introduction by the Lord Provost of the Anti-Papal agitation, Professor Dick gave notice of the following resolution:—

That as the whole tendency to grasp at power by the clergy, and amongst other attempts, the recent proposition by the Pope, arises from the establishments of religion, which exist and are supported by the civil power,—the Council memorialize her Majesty to direct her Ministers to bring in a bill to separate the connexion between Church and State, and to place the funds supporting these establishments in the Exchequer, as the present incumbents die out, for civil purposes.

A spirited discussion took place on the 3rd inst. on this motion, and it was lost by only two votes. For the resolution there appeared—Bailie Fyfe, Councilors Dick, Tod, Lindsay, Ridpath, Richardson, Boyd, Vallance, Greenock, Drummond, Clark, Bell, Pow, and Gray.—In Edinburgh a great Protestant meeting has been held, Mr. C. Cowan, M.P., in the chair. Drs. M'Crie, Cunningham, and Candlish, were the principal speakers. The resolutions, which were all unanimously adopted, denounced Papal aggression and Protestant treachery, called for measures to prevent our being placed in a worse position, as to the Papal authority, than countries that hold the Popish creed, and appointed a committee of 180 individuals to "take into serious consideration the whole subject of Popery."—In Glasgow a great meeting of Dissenters has taken place. James Rey, Esq., was in the chair. Dr. Macfarlane proposed a resolution expressive of regret at the activity of Roman Catholicism in England, while fully acknowledging the "right of every religious sect to propagate its own opinions, and deprecating any approach to a revival of its ancient domination." Mr. John M'Lean proposed an amendment, to the effect, that the recent appointments are purely ecclesiastical; which was lost by an immense majority. The Rev. Mr. Jeffrey moved, and Mr. Buchanan seconded, the second resolution, which was of some length, and concluded with the declaration—"That no security can be had against the evils apprehended from Romish aggression, while the principle of Church and State connexion is recognised and acted on in the administration of the nation's affairs, and while civil powers, honours, and wealth are enjoyed by the spiritual teachers, and office-bearers, of any religious denomination whatever." Dr. Anderson proposed a petition to Parliament and the Queen, for "the entire separation of Church and State;" which was also carried with great enthusiasm.—The Duke of Argyll, in addressing the annual meeting of the Edinburgh Bible Society, uttered some striking sentiments on the prevailing topic. After referring to the authority of the Scriptures, the assumptions put forward by the Church of Rome in the Oxford Tracts, he touched upon the Supremacy of the Queen, which he and all Scotchmen were ready to defend as a political idea. But such grounds for resistance to Papal aggression as "that there should be but one set of clergy in each geographical division," he repudiated, pointed to the Bishop of London as advising not fight but flight, and concluded with the impressive declaration:—"We deny that the Church of Christ consists in titles usurped, or in the multitude of men approved; it consists only and alone in the true preaching of his word and right administration of his worship" [applause].

## THE TWO SUPREMACIES.

Richard Burdon Sanderson, Esq., has addressed the following letter to the Newcastle and Gateshead Religious Freedom Society:—

Bellevue, near Plymouth, Dec. 4, 1850.

Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge your kind note, communicating a report of the proceedings of the Newcastle and Gateshead Religious Freedom Society; and I have to request that you will convey my thanks to the committee for the very favourable construction they have put upon my services, in delivering some lectures on Mr. Noel's book against the union of Church and State.

There was one particular topic which was touched upon in those lectures, and which, I think, derives

considerable illustration from the present crisis of affairs. I refer to the identity which exists between the two supremacies, differing in nothing, that I can see, but in the time and manner of their development. The Popedom arose, first, out of a purely spiritual jurisdiction, which in due time annexed to itself also the temporal power; whereas, the English supremacy sprang up out of the temporal crown usurping the office of the episcopate likewise.

Their power is precisely the same; as appears from the fact, that the act of the Pope in appointing bishops in England, and which has been so much deprecated as an invasion of the royal prerogative, is exactly the same in character as that by which the royal supreme of our Church recently constituted the Bishop of Jerusalem to exercise spiritual authority over Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia—countries over which we could pretend to no temporal right, more than his Holiness could over England, Ireland, or Scotland.

Let the Dissenters beware, then, lest in protesting against the aggressions of one Pope, as they suppose, they are not supporting another. For, as Dr. Addams said in his argument on Hampden's case, "If the doctrine laid down by my learned friends on the other side—[respecting the power of the Crown in the appointment of the Bishop, as confirmed by the judgment of the Court]—if this doctrine be true, then," said the learned civilian, "is the Queen of England neither more nor less than a female Pope." But whilst I protest against the royal supremacy in matters spiritual, I will yield to no man in loyalty to the Queen, as such, and in devotion to her person.

THE WARD OF BISHOPSGATE AND MR. DEPUTY PEACOCK.—This gentleman has circulated in his ward the following address. It was sent to the Ward-clerk to be read at the meeting, but was withheld by the Alderman:—

GENTLEMEN,—As my personal attendance to your business in the Guildhall prevents my being present at your meeting this morning, permit me to state that I consider the question respecting the Popish Archbishop of Westminster as only a contest between the two Established Churches about an empty title, rather than as a question of civil and religious liberty.

The Church of England holds so many points of faith in common with the Church of Rome, that it is no easy matter to distinguish one from the other.

I think it would be well if the Protestant Established Church would become more Protestant and less Romish; her members would not then be so easily led away by the show and ceremony of the Church of Rome.

How is it, let me ask, that so few Dissenters join the Romish Church? In the large congregation to which I belong I never heard but of one, and I believe he changed to please his wife, who was a Roman Catholic. I have no fear that we shall ever again become subjects to the priestly domination of the Church of Rome.

The great majority of the people of Scotland and England are too enlightened in the nineteenth century, to be won over to desert their Protestant principles, by what has been well described as "superstitious mummery."

ST. BARNABAS CHURCH.—Long previous to the hour for the commencement of public worship, on Sunday, anxious crowds had assembled in the vicinity of the now famed St. Barnabas. Soon after eleven the Rev. G. F. de Gex, curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, commenced chanting the Litany, and the Rev. Mr. Bennett emerged from the sacristy attended by his deacons, and all made their obeisance to a massive cross upon the altar. At the close of the prayers the Rev. Mr. Bennett proceeded to preach from Luke xxi. 5. He reminded his audience, assembled as they were in a temple dedicated to the Lord, that a time would come when the Lord should judge the earth, and he appealed to them by what right they, fallible and weak men, presumed to judge their fellow-being? Looking at the dense and eager mass before him, he asked what had brought them there? Had they come to pray? Were their feelings those of good and humble and charitable Christians? or were they animated by unholy passions? Had they come there to defile the temple of the Lord, to judge his ministers unrighteously, and to mock at the observances of the holy religion they professed? He knew what had been threatened. He knew that an idle word might lead to bloodshed, and that what he was then saying might terminate his career in this world; but he cared not, for his reward would be ample if his sacrifice should lead one sinner to repentance. (It is impossible to describe the sensation which these remarks produced. Many smiled, and evidently regarded them as weak and foolish apprehensions; but there were others who were moved to tears, and appeared to listen with rapt earnestness to the words that fell from the speaker.) After some further remarks in the same strain, and a solemn admonition to them once again to judge not, in order that they might not be judged, the rev. gentleman concluded by pronouncing the benediction. It is due to the Protestants of London to observe, that nothing whatever, as far as we are aware, occurred within the church to warrant the apprehensions of the minister or to interrupt the service.—*Times*.

THE REV. W. ROBINSON, of Kettering, has published an admirable address of which the following are the concluding paragraphs:—

The difficulties with which the Pope has surrounded Lord John Russell flow from that fruitful source of vexation to statesmen, the connexion between Church and State. His Holiness has treated the United States as he has treated England, but brother Jonathan laughs at the Pope, and goes on his way. IT IS NOT POPERY BUT STATE-CHURCHISM THAT IS NOW TROUBLING THE LAND. But for it, the Papal appointments would be first pilloried in *Punch*, and then with silent contempt buried; but the unnatural position of Protestant Episcopalians in England has given the Pope a solid fulcrum on which to rest his lever.

Civil government is an institution based on physical force. Every law has a penalty annexed to it, which is inflicted when the law is violated, the physical force being always in readiness to secure its infliction in case of resistance. Physical force is,



and must be, the *ultima ratio regum*. All the ecclesiastical, as the other laws of Great Britain, are upheld by physical force. But the kingdom of Christ disowns all violence. Therefore, governments should not intermeddle with ecclesiastical affairs. Very Quixotic would be the chemist who should attempt to produce oxygen by the rules of ethics; equally so the husbandmen who should attempt to grow turnips by metaphysics; or the blacksmith who should hope to weld iron by the laws of Greek metre; not less so the Christian who attempts to spread Christianity by means of a physical-force Establishment.

An unsound principle is sure to punish those who adopt it. The great want of Italy now is, according to Lord Palmerston, "the real and practical separation between the temporal and spiritual authorities," and there is scarcely a nation in Europe that is not tormented by their ill-fated and illicit union. In this United Kingdom, if statesmen were but wise enough to resume Church property and apply it to the payment in part of the public debt—after having dealt justly with patrons and existing incumbents—and then leave off coquetting with ecclesiastics, both Protestant and Romish, we should have nothing to fear from the toothless decrees of the Vatican, or the inflated epistles of Dr. Wiseman.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., has addressed the following letter

TO THE FRIENDS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN BIRMINGHAM.

FELLOW-TOWNSMEN.—Though strongly opposed on principle to both the contending hierarchies, I have been so much surprised and grieved at observing some of you uniting in the clamour which has been created in consequence of an alleged aggression by the Pope, that I venture to ask whether you have not far more reason to condemn the State Church, which has raised the storm. A church which, while a large proportion of its clergy profess similar doctrines to those which are denounced, appropriate vast public revenues to the support of its ecclesiastical establishment, and even employs the power of the State to tax the members of other religious communities for the same purpose.

As a town's meeting has been called on the subject, for the 11th instant, allow me to submit that it is your duty to attend and negative proceedings which are dangerous to religious freedom.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 12th Month (Dec.) 6th, 1850.

ORANGE SOCIETY.—On Friday night, a meeting of the masters of the various lodges in London belonging to the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Great Britain was held at the offices of Messrs. Jones and Clarke, solicitors, 30, Bury-street, St. James's, for the purpose of considering the best course to be adopted to stop the recent step taken by the Pope. The Rev. Mr. Greig, one of the grand chaplains, addressed the meeting for nearly an hour, and it was finally agreed that the rev. gentleman's views should be laid before the Grand Lodge.

HOLE AND CORNER MEETING AT BRADFORD.—The Churchmen of this town finding that public feeling was decidedly opposed to any meeting against the Catholics, so worded the placard convening the meeting, that none but their clique could take any part in it. The leading Dissenters decided, that owing to the wording of the placard, no opposition could be offered. Notwithstanding the Chartists and Catholics mustered in very large numbers, and carried by five to one a motion for adjourning the meeting until 8 o'clock in the evening, in order to give the working men an opportunity of attending—it had been called for eleven in the forenoon. The Chairman refused to abide by their decision, and attempted to carry on the proceedings, when every speaker was met by hissing, hooting, &c., in the midst of which a memorial to the Queen was moved and seconded, calling for repressive laws against the Catholics. Mr. D. Lightowler moved an amendment, deprecating any interference of the civil power in matters of religion. The Chairman refused to put it to the meeting, but on its being submitted by another person, it was carried by a majority of two to one.

THE MURDER OF ROSSI, AND THE LONDON PRESS.—Everybody remembers the continuous efforts of the daily press to connect the chiefs of the Roman Republic with the murder of Count Rossi. It was not their interest to kill him, for his occupancy of office, and the reforms he was advancing, were steps towards the transference of the civil government from the hands of the Cardinals. But knowing that, if not constantly thrown at the chiefs of the republic, the imputation must gravitate towards the followers of the Cardinals, the despotic press of Europe have laboured incessantly to fasten it elsewhere. Engaged in this vocation, one Count d'Arlincourt connects with it, in a recent book on "Red Italy," the name of the Prince of Canino, who was President of the Constituent Assembly of Rome. The Prince has brought an action for defamation against the calumniator, and, in spite of the defence of M. Berryer and the hostility of the Government, obtained five hundred francs damages. Now comes into play the morality of several of the principal London journals. They mention the trial, they admit the verdict has been against D'Arlincourt, but they conceal that the calumny thus branded and punished as a foul slander was their own one respecting the assassination of Rossi. Moreover, this is the course they have repeatedly pursued, respecting several similar calumnies against MM. Ledru Rollin, Mazzini, Louis Blanc, and others.—*Standard of Freedom*.

THE NEW MEMBER FOR LAMBETH.—The electors of Lambeth have given a soirée to their representative, Mr. W. Williams. Mr. Hume, M.P., was present. Among the speakers was Mr. H. Vincent, the popular lecturer. The latter gentleman expressed the opinion that Lord John Russell had "tarnished his character" by his late letter to the Bishop of Durham, and warned those present who shouted "No, no," that if coercive measures struck the Romish Cathedral on the right, they would strike the Dissenting Chapel on the left.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

NEW BAPTIST CHAPEL, HAMMERSMITH.—The church and congregation of the Rev. John Leechman, M.A. (who is now absent as a deputation to the Baptist Missions in India), having, for a considerable time past, found their chapel too small for them, have determined to erect a new and elegant structure capable of seating about 900 persons, which they hope to complete and open, free from debt, on the return of their pastor. It will be built according to a highly approved design generously furnished by S. M. Peto, Esq., M.P.; and the entire cost will be about £2,100. The site is an excellent one, copyhold, and free from incumbrance. The chapel is being executed from the designs, and under the direction of Mr. John Thomas, the well-known sculptor and architect, by Mr. Gammon, builder, of the York-road, Lambeth. It will be of a plain Byzantine character; the front gabled, and having a tower on each side, containing stairs to the galleries, and consisting of an arcade, extending nearly the whole length between the towers, enclosing a loggia, from which the doors to stairs, and to the body of the chapel open. Above the arcade are three large windows. There are, also, two vestries, and a commodious baptistry. The ceremony connected with the laying of the foundation-stone of the new building took place on Friday last, at three o'clock. After the usual devotional services, which were conducted by the Rev. Messrs. W. G. Lewis, J. Bigwood, J. M. Soule, and J. Stoughton, the Rev. J. Aldis, of Maze Pond, delivered an appropriate and eloquent address. In the evening, a large company met at the Albion Tavern, and £125 were contributed.

LONDON CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY.—The first meeting of the members of this Society has recently been held, agreeably to its rule. The Treasurer reported that the entire income of the year amounted to £5,912 12s., exceeding that of the previous year by more than £2,000. The Rev. J. C. Galloway reported that Horbury and Haverstock chapels, both of which had been aided by the funds of the Society, had been supplied with pastors, and that the attendance and general prospects of the two places of worship were highly encouraging. The City-road Congregational Chapel, which was opened in May last, and which will accommodate 1,200, has been regularly very numerous attended. All the operations of the church and congregation have been conducted with Christian propriety and in perfect harmony, both in relation to themselves and the committee. Efficient arrangements have been made to evangelize the neighbourhood, and all the pecuniary engagements of the church with the Society have been punctually and honourably met. The cost of this building to the Society is £4,500. During the past year the committee has agreed to assist the new chapel in the Southgate-road with the sum of £3,000, and the new chapel in the Caledonian-road with the sum of £700. It has deposited £1,000 in the funds (the moiety of the handsome donation of a benevolent lady), to be appropriated towards the erection of another chapel, as soon as the remaining amount can be obtained, and has undertaken the erection of Bedford Chapel, in a populous district lying between Somers-town and Camden-town. This chapel is to hold 1,200, and to cost, including every charge, £3,000. The report then alluded to the erection of other chapels during the past year, not assisted by the funds of the Society, and gave some interesting details respecting them—namely, the new chapels at Bermondsey, Bethnal-green, Tottenham, and Sydenham. It further intimated that preliminary and decisive steps had been taken during the past year towards the early erection of seven or eight more chapels, in addition to those already reported. Addresses were then delivered by the Revs. Dr. Leifchild, George Smith, T. Aveling, and Charles Gilbert. After which, T. J. Rooke, Esq., presented the Treasurer with a cheque of £900, being the balance of the first instalment of £1,000, which the City-road church engaged to pay to the Society at this time. This amount was duly acknowledged, and this very interesting anniversary closed with singing and prayer.

DR. ALEXANDER FLETCHER.—On Friday last a small tea meeting was held in Finsbury Chapel, for the purpose of presenting the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, D.D., with an elegant silver cake-basket, as a testimonial of esteem from the male department of the Catechetical Seminary, which has existed for nearly forty years under his superintendence, and meets every Sabbath afternoon. The address, which was written in a handsome portfolio of velvet, ornamented with silver-gilt filigree work, and flowers carved in ivory, was read by J. Harrison, Esq., one of the managers of the Chapel, who had been a member of the seminary thirty years ago, and the basket, in which were some flowers beautifully modelled in wax by one of the present scholars, was presented to the Doctor by the secretary of the seminary, Mr. Charles Watson. The Doctor replied at some length, in a most affectionate manner, and afterwards Mr. Sargent, the teacher of the first class, and the Rev. Hope Seaton, formerly a pupil, addressed the meeting, which then dispersed.

FRIAR-LANE CHAPEL, NOTTINGHAM.—On Tuesday evening, December 3rd, a tea-meeting was held in the School-room connected with the Independent Chapel, Friar-lane, Nottingham, for the purpose of a farewell interview with the Rev. James Matheson, B.A., whose state of health has led him to resign his office as assistant-pastor with the Rev. Joseph Gilbert. After tea, the Mayor, William Felkin,

Esq., most efficiently presided, and addresses were delivered by the deacons, and other friends. Mr. Matheson's parting words strongly indicated his affectionate interest in those amongst whom his brief ministry had been exercised. In the course of the evening, Mr. G. Hart, with great feeling and delicacy, presented to their guest, in the name of the contributors, a purse containing upwards of £70—a spontaneous expression of affectionate respect. Though Mr. Matheson has felt it necessary to leave this, the scene of his earliest ministerial labours, there is every reason to hope that after a short period of rest and relaxation, he will be able to resume the work to which he has devoted himself.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE ANTI-PAPAL MEETING AT LEICESTER.

DEAR SIR,—I was somewhat surprised to observe a letter from Mr. William Baines in your last week's paper, in which he assumes, "that the majority of the Dissenters of Leicester are opposed to any steps being taken against the present movement of the Roman Catholics as an ecclesiastical body."

Now, as far as the sentiments of the Dissenters of Leicester can be collected from the proceedings of the meeting held on the 28th ult., I do not see how it is possible to doubt that a very decisive majority of that body are favourable to the views of the promoters of that meeting. As Chairman, I did not feel the slightest hesitation in pronouncing that the resolutions were carried by a very large majority; and I think if every person present who took no part in the proceedings had actively opposed them, there would still have been a vast preponderance of opinion in their favour.

As Mr. Baines has stated no reasons, I am at a loss to know upon what data he grounds his conclusions; but I think when an open meeting is called on any subject, and, as in this case, in the face of all the influence which can be brought to bear in opposition, the opinion of such meeting is most unequivocally expressed, it requires something more than mere assertion to show that such a fact is not, in an important degree, significant of a general feeling on the subject.

I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE TOLLER.

Leicester, December 9th, 1850.

### THE ANTI-PAPAL AGITATION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Believing your views respecting the duty of Dissenters with regard to the Papal aggression to be correct, I have no doubt, on calm reflection, they will be appreciated. Would it not be a good plan to publish the Kettering memorial in the form of a tract, with a heading that would suit any town from whence a memorial to the Queen has been sent of an opposite character? Your tract, "the Pope and the Prelates," has, no doubt, been useful, and has been read by persons who would not have listened to the same sentiments if spoken. I should suggest something of the following:—

"To the inhabitants of this town.

"Your attention is respectfully called to the annexed memorial, and the question suggested—Do you not think it more in accordance with the spirit of Christianity and civil and religious liberty, more becoming Christians and Englishmen, than the memorial so numerous signed by our townsmen a short time ago?"

I may be mistaken, but I cannot but think that, in most towns, those would be found anxious to circulate such sentiments as it contains.

I am, your obedient servant,

G. HEATHER SMITH.

Worthing, December 6th, 1850.

### THE NONCONFORMISTS OF 1688.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—It is very agreeable, no doubt, to trace fancied resemblances between the present and past interesting periods in our country's history, especially if by so doing we are enabled to quote, in support of our own policy, some striking passages from an eloquent historian. But the present crisis is not in any way parallel with that which the Dissenters had to meet in the reign of James II., and without discussing the policy which they adopted then, it is evident that if the cases are not parallel, their example ought not to influence us. They had to deal with the king, the supreme head of the State, making himself, and through himself the State, spiritually subject to the Pope, and thus giving to the Church of Rome civil power in this country. We have to deal not with the State at all, which in our case is doing nothing, but with the Church of Rome only, which without the assistance of the State can exert no authority over us except by our own consent. And in order to meet an unarmed spiritual aggression of a power, which denounces against our disobedience spiritual and not civil penalties, we are advised by some panic-stricken politicians to invoke the arm of the State, whose very interference in spiritual matters we denounce, when in our right senses, as an invasion of our liberties. Never, surely, was such cowardly advice given in the presence of so little danger.

If we would stand firm on the sure ground of civil and religious liberty, our course is clear. Whatever may be the pretensions of the Church of Rome, if she attempts to get civil power to enforce them, let us answer the attempt by a decided and peremptory NO; but if she makes no such attempt, and still she does make such an attempt, let us merely be stirred up by her activity to the zealous propagation of our own principles.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A SCOTTISH VOLUNTARY.

Dalston, December 6, 1850.

### DISSENT AND THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SWEDEN.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Will you have the kindness to permit me to state to your readers a few facts respecting the pre-



sent position of Dissent in Sweden? The established Lutheran Church of Sweden is one of the most powerful of religious bodies in any country. It derives from the State not only endowment, but the strongest support which law can give. Its liberty as an ecclesiastical body is by no means restrained; and its discipline is enforced by aid of the civil law. The authorities of the Church are, on the other hand, bound by law to execute many sentences passed on criminals in the civil courts. The law requires the clergy to see that all infants born in Sweden receive baptism before they are eight days old. Certificates from the clergy that a person has partaken of the Lord's Supper in the Established Church, are indispensable in order to hold an office of the lowest rank, sit as a member of the National Diet, and even to get married, or become a master or journeyman in any handicraft trade. Before coming to the Lord's Supper every one must make confession to the clergy of the church he frequents, who need not permit him to come to the Lord's Supper unless perfectly satisfied with his conduct. When a bishop is to be appointed, three names are selected by the clergy from among themselves, and the king nominates one of these to the vacant see, so that the most important part of the choice is that of the clergy. A large part of the benefices and ecclesiastical offices are filled up in a similar manner by the clergy and the person or persons in whose gift they are. The house of bishops and clergy is one of the constituent parts of the National Legislature, and possesses equal power with the other three, its vote being as requisite as theirs to alter any law, ecclesiastical or civil. For the last 250 years it has been the law that any Swedish subject who changed his religious opinions and left the National Church should be banished from the country. If this law were repealed, considerable numbers would probably leave the Established Church, and the power of the clergy would be so much diminished by the change of laws which must be made to suit this altered state of things, that the greatest opposition to such a change must be expected from the clergy. At present their intervention is required in almost every event of life, public or private, as well as in almost every sentence pronounced by the civil courts. No such change in the laws, whether constitutional, civil, criminal, or ecclesiastical, could be made without the concurrence of the four estates of the realm. To obtain this under the present constitution seems hopeless. *The whole national representation of Sweden needs first to be reformed.* The Established Church does not appear to possess much influence over the national mind. It is rather a branch of the civil government than a body exercising a religious power. All forms of religious belief are said to be tolerated in Sweden and protected by law, except in the case of Swedish subjects who secede from the Established Church, and join any other sect, whatever it may be. Similar laws, it appears, are in force in Norway, though a contrary opinion has prevailed. The chief difference, it is said, is, that secession from the Established Church is there punishable by imprisonment and hard labour instead of banishment. The measure adopted by the Storting, in 1837, for the removal of the disabilities in Norway on the Society of Friends is thought to have been limited to the permission of them to establish themselves in Norway, which was before prohibited by law; and not to have sanctioned the secession of Norwegian subjects from the Established Church to the Friends' Society.

There are many influential opponents to the state of the laws in Sweden on this subject, and also to the whole system of Swedish jurisprudence; but the Diet, as at present constituted, is unlikely to assent to any material change. Nothing short of an entire reform of the representative system seems likely to give to Sweden the great blessing of religious liberty. That reform once accomplished, there is reason to hope that this blessing would be soon obtained.

Mr. F. O. Nilsson, a Swede, and pastor of a Swedish Baptist church, recently formed in Sweden, after being sentenced to banishment, appealed to a superior court; his sentence is confirmed. The whole of the Swedish Baptists are liable to similar proceedings. The Legislative Assembly commences its sittings during the present month, and the Baptists have resolved to present a petition for liberty of conscience to that body. Mr. Nilsson also intended to present a petition to the King, on receiving formal notice of the confirmation of his sentence, entreating that he would exercise the power which the law gives him to prevent its execution. "But we have no hope," he says, "that he dare, even if he would, exert his power in our favour, especially on account of our all-powerful priests, who alone sway the sovereignty in this country, over King and people." Some of the Baptists have suffered the seizure of their goods, and are exposed to frequent abuse from the authorities, and insults from their neighbours; "who seem to be allowed," says Mr. Nilsson, "to do whatever they malignantly please towards their inoffensive Baptist neighbours. The spirit of Popery can hardly ever have been more clearly put forth in the very heart of Popedom itself, than it is in the mock Protestant-Swedish Church. Still," he says, "praise the Lord, such is the power of God's truth upon these humble, honest-hearted brethren, that they suffer patiently, and sometimes rejoicingly."

I hope that your kindness in helping to diffuse a knowledge of these facts, may awaken a deep interest in this struggle for religious liberty, and lead to earnest prayer for its accomplishment.

Yours, dear Sir, very truly, X. Y. Z.

COUNTY RATES.—On Wednesday, Mr. Hume, M.P., Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Mr. Milner Gibson, and a deputation on the subject of county rates, had an interview with Lord John Russell and Sir G. Grey. Lord John Russell said, that although he concurred in the opinion so very generally expressed, that rate-payers of counties should be placed on the same footing as the rate-payers of boroughs by the Municipal Act, which was on the principle of taxation and representation, yet it did not appear to him that any particular "movement" had been made with the exception of Lancashire. Lord Dudley Stuart assured his lordship that after such an expression a "movement" would be made in the metropolitan parishes, and that the House of Commons, during the next session of Parliament, would be inundated with petitions.

#### THE REV. J. P. MURSELL ON PAPAL AGGRESSION.

To the Editor of the Leicester Chronicle.

SIR,—It is because I think the present a most grave crisis in the history of our country, and because I am desirous to do what in me lies to promote union of effort among all classes of the people with regard to it, that I venture to ask space for the following lines in your journal.

I cannot agree with those who would have us treat the recent conduct of the See of Rome as a light and trifling thing, as a matter which, in our dignity and sense of security, we may afford to look upon with indifference, or with supercilious contempt; but, on the contrary, I hold it, if left to work itself out, to be fraught with incalculable mischiefs to this great empire, to threaten alike its social, its commercial, its moral, and its religious interests. Popery, caressed and cherished among a people, all history attests, is an ugly guest—a fearful vampire—that sucks and exhausts the very life-blood of a nation. I think I see Cardinal Wiseman exchanging significant glances with his wily satellites, while we, in our great wisdom, are talking of his encroachments as a trifling thing. Will he esteem them as such if he can succeed to his heart's content? Let those who talk in this way try to look at the question through the Cardinal's eyes!

Many stand aloof and refuse active opposition to the attempted usurpations of Rome, lest they should commit themselves by such a step to the support of what is called the spiritual supremacy of the Queen. I believe these scruples to be most conscientiously entertained by many of her Majesty's subjects; but I submit that they are rather conscientious than enlightened. If it were required of us to recognise our Sovereign as the head of the Church of Christ, of that great spiritual community, some of whose members may be found, humble and faithful, mixed up with churches of every name, we might well demur; but when all that is asked of us is to concede that the Queen is the chief authority in the Church of England, we are simply called upon to admit a fact. We might not like it: we may happen to dissent from the Church of England, but that in no sense alters the case. It is a great and palpable fact, nevertheless, that an ecclesiastical corporation exists in this country, and that (rightly or wrongly, in our judgment) the Queen is constitutionally placed at its head. And who, let me ask, can desire, while such a corporation lasts—while there is an Established Church—that any other arrangement should obtain? Who could wish to see the Church of England an "imperium in imperio?"—the crossier substituted for the sceptre, and the mitre placed above the crown? No; so long as the Episcopal Church in this country is allied with the State, so long, Dissenter as I am, I hope the Queen, through her Parliament, will hold the reins, will retain her ascendancy that is, will, as the chief civil magistrate, hold a church created by law amenable to law. To withhold myself from taking action in this matter from some scruples lest in doing so I should allow of the spiritual supremacy of the Queen, is to refrain from a proposed course lest I should admit the existence of a fact which nobody on earth can deny.

Thinking, as I decidedly do, that in its recent measures the See of Rome has infringed on the civil supremacy of the Queen, this with me is sufficient ground for action; nay more, it is a loud summons to duty. But even if this could not be satisfactorily made out, the absence of the necessary evidence would supply no reason for supineness. Gross insult may be offered where no literal law is violated; the spirit of the constitution may be invaded while its forms remain untouched; indignity may be put upon a sovereign without trampling upon the statutes of her realm; and if this, or any approach to it, has happened in these recent acts, I cannot see the high-mindedness, the lofty tone of honour, or the rich morality, that lies in suppressing every indignant emotion, and in counselling quiescence till some formal laws have been abused. No loyal subject, no genuine patriot, should permit his country or his Queen to be treated with insult by any foreign power, without resentment.

But in sending his Cardinal to this country—a gentleman, be it remembered, who in Italy is a temporal prince, and who, should Pio Nono die (and Popes, fortunately, are not immortal), might be King of Rome to-morrow—and in assigning to him and his suffragans, by authoritative proclamation, territorial jurisdiction in these realms, the Pope of Rome has violated both common and statute law. There is no rule so well ascertained, or so fundamental in common law, as that in every civil matter and relation obedience is due to supreme civil authority only; and of this principle the acknowledgment of any paramountcy is a manifest violation; but the attempt to exercise independent authority is, *a fortiori*, a greater violation. For any regal power to issue a proclamation which is to take effect in other dominions, without the consent of the rightful Sovereign or authorities of those dominions, is surely an outrage on common sense, to say nothing of common law—an outrage, moreover, which the Pope of Rome does not dare to perpetrate, even on the Catholic powers which surround him. To pretend that this is a purely spiritual proceeding, may answer the purpose of priests, but is by far too flimsy a disguise to hoodwink a great and enlightened people. But it is in direct violation of an Act passed in the 13th year of Elizabeth, intitled "An Act against the bringing in and putting in execution of bulls, writings, or instruments, and other superstitious things from the See of Rome." So lately as 1846 this statute was altered, "but as far only as the same imposes the penalties or punishments therein mentioned; but it is hereby declared that nothing in this enactment contained shall authorize or render it lawful for any person or persons to import, bring in, or put in execution within this realm, any such bulls, writings, or instruments; and that in all respects, save as to the said penalties or punishments, the law shall continue the same as if this enactment had not been made." The penalties originally annexed to this statute having through the leniency of the British legislature been removed, the advisers of the Pope have recommended him to put the statute itself at defiance, hoping that public opinion would be so far in his favour as to prevent any legal opposition to his designs—an expectation in which I earnestly wish he may be disappointed.

What says Lord Beaumont—himself a Roman Catholic—"The Pope by his ill-advised measures has placed the Roman Catholics in this country in a position where they

must either break with Rome, or violate their allegiance to the constitution of these realms."

Not only have the laws of this country been broken, but its institutions have been set aside by the measures of the Pope: "consequently (says the *Univers*, the organ of the Jesuit party in France), from the promulgation of the Papal brief, the sees of Canterbury, of York, of London, and other sees, established before the Reformation, have ceased to exist; the persons who in future may assume the titles of Archbishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London, will be nothing more than intruders, schismatic priests, without any spiritual authority." As Dissenters we may not recognise these sees, but they exist by regal appointment and sanction, by act of Parliament, and in accordance with the forms of the British constitution, and can be no more superseded by proclamations from Rome than the courts of law, or the House of Commons, and while they exist as institutions recognised by the State, no one can admit of their being supplanted by foreign edicts without making an approach to treason. But we are sagaciously informed that these sees have nothing to fear; that they will live on in the plenitude of their pomp and power, the bulls of the Pope notwithstanding. But whose fault is it that all these arrogant assumptions are "*bruta fulmina*," and how long would they remain so if Cardinal Wiseman and his friends could have their way? The mere proclamation that they are set aside is a daring invasion of the supremacy of the Queen.

This is not a question which belongs to any mere section of the community, or to any particular denomination of Christians, but one which appertains to this great Protestant nation—one with which the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, the Nonconformist, has equally to do. Now, if ever it becomes us, without abandoning our distinctive principles, to unite in manly defence of that common Protestantism to which we owe, under God, our best inheritance and our dearest privileges, shall we, while contending among ourselves, allow an insidious foe to entrench himself in our very midst, and to drive us back from the vantage ground which we have attained? Our liberties as well our Protestantism are endangered. If we will contentedly receive one insult, there are others in reserve. If one Italian prince, under the guise of a meek priest, can wear his titles and exercise his territorial jurisdiction, by command of a foreign power, others will follow upon his heels; troops of bishops, with their subalterns, will cover the land; subtle and mighty agencies will be brought to bear upon the less enlightened classes of our people, and a great political machinery, under a spiritual name, will be set up, hurtful to the progress of thought and of freedom, and this fair realm of England will wear the features of an Italian colony.

But we are told that we have already conceded so much that we are bound to go on; that having given the Papists an inch, they must be allowed to take their ell; that having granted Catholic Emancipation, we must grant all they think fit to ask. I submit that there are limits to concession, and that the party conceding has interests to consult, as well as the party greedy of concession. When concessions are sought which place in peril the peace of the realm, and the honour of its Sovereign, it is high time to stop, unless we are disposed to make ourselves the laughing-stock of Europe. In one breath we are consoled by the assurance that we have nothing to fear, that the Papists have no ecclesiastical courts, and that their bishops will not sit in the House of Lords; in the next we are informed, for our instruction, that having tolerated their religion we are in all consistency required to admit it in all its proportions. Why, ecclesiastical courts form part of their religion, and, according to this reasoning, we are bound to have them. The Inquisition is a most important element in this dreadful system, and on this assumption, we must have it too. Cardinal Wiseman has told us that they cannot carry out their religion without a hierarchy; that a hierarchy cannot be constituted without the mandate of the Pope; and, at the fitting time, he will tell us that he cannot go on without his ecclesiastical courts and his inquisitorial dungeons. He will tell us with all the gentleness of a lamb, and all the meekness of an angel, that these establishments are not asked for by Protestants, but for the health of the souls of his Catholic adherents. He will assure us that he would not torture an Episcopalian on any account; that he would shudder at the thought of flogging a Wesleyan, and shrink with horror at the idea of burning a Nonconformist—they are the recusants of his own Church that he yearns to bless; and so the subjects of her Majesty, in these free realms of Britain, are to be confiscated, imprisoned, and tortured in the sacred name of religion. I maintain, on the principle laid down, that if you grant any concessions you must take the whole thing—that you are committed to this length, if the Catholics choose to demand it.

But there is no fear of matters arriving at this pitch. Why not? What the Catholics want is political power and spiritual ascendancy. England with them is a great prize, and they will, if we are foolish enough to let them, fight hard to gain it. With such men on the Episcopal bench as the Bishops of London, of Oxford, and of Exeter; with troops of Puseyites in the Church; with men who sympathize with them in the high places in the realm, and with a huge mass of religious indifference in the country, they are not without their hopes, and it will not be their fault, if instead of a Protestant, we have not-by-and-bye a Catholic Establishment; and whatever are the injuries incident to Dissenters from the present system, insufferably heavier ones would befall them under the supposed one. But we have ecclesiastical courts already. True; but is that any reason, when just as the existing ones are sinking beneath the weight of popular displeasure, we should do our best to set up others, more deadly still, in their stead?

There are many who allege, and that with the greatest sincerity, that in taking any active measures, such as memorializing the Queen or addressing the Government, we are guilty of calling in the civil power to interfere in spiritual matters, and so are betraying the principles of Nonconformity. We assume, and think it is proved, that the laws have been broken, the constitution violated, and the nation dishonoured by the usurpations of the See of Rome, and on this ground we are prepared to take action. But, waiving this ground, there appears to be no force whatever in the objection. What spiritual thing do we propose to touch? Whose chapel do we close? What priest do we dismiss? What doctrine do we denounce? What right do we invade? What matin do we hush? What vesper do we silence? We concede to our Catholic fellow-subjects all the privileges



we claim for ourselves. We would not expunge a single law which exists in their favour; retrace any footsteps which has been taken to their advantage; or enact any statute which should curtail their freedom. Let them propagate their religion by reason, by argument, by persuasion. Let them practise, without offensive obtrusiveness, all the ceremonies of their church unmolested. Let them receive all the courtesies, the respect, and the kindness which an enlightened charity dictates, but do not let them attempt to establish among us a vast political apparatus, subversive alike of the liberties and of the religion of these realms. Do not let them build up, by insidious arts, and ambitious designs, a new establishment, in obedience to a foreign potentate, in the heart of this great Protestant people. We no more invoke the civil power to interfere in spiritual affairs in this matter, than the Dissenter does, when he asks the parliament to dissolve the connexion between the Church and the State. In the one case we are seeking the aid of that power to remove what we regard as an existing evil; in the other we solicit it to interfere to prevent, in violation of law, another establishment, in an incipient form, from growing up in our midst. Popery is a political thing (as Dr. Newman in his work on Romanism admits), and is now obtruding itself upon us in that character.

As to the objection, that the contemplated opposition to the Papal assumptions will have the effect of perpetuating the Established Church, I very respectfully submit that such an argument, even were it sound, is unworthy of this great cause. Are the convictions of our judgments and the scruples of our consciences with relation to that establishment, to degenerate into a rancour and a bitterness which shall render us unscrupulous as to the weapons to be employed against it? Have we been so long accustomed to look almost exclusively upon the great and numerous ills which, in our estimation, attend the alliance between the Church with the State in our beloved country, that we are prepared to welcome any power which chooses to obtrude itself upon us, and any elements that may float around us, in the hope that they will aid in its dissolution? Shall we stand by and see a system which has been the curse of ages, and the decelerator of kingdoms, strike its roots deep in the social and political soil, with a kind of malignant hope that it will inconvenience and destroy another system which we disapprove? From such a line of argument, and such an order of feeling, every reflecting mind must shrink. If the dissolution of the alliance of the Church with the State cannot be effected without abetting Cardinal Wiseman and his schemes, the advocates of it had better desist from their attempts, unless they are satisfied to sacrifice all claim to public respect, and to show the world that they are ready to do evil that good may come. But I do not admit the inference; and I the rather think that by gentlemanly and courteous behaviour; by a readiness to unite with those who differ from us on every fitting occasion; by letting Churchmen see that we have some principles in common—that we have more than one idea in our heads, and some generous sentiments in our hearts; we shall be more likely, on every principle of human nature, to conciliate their attention to our special question, than by an opposite spirit and demeanour. By the one course we may create partisans; by the other, we may, by degrees, obtain a nation as our audience.

As liege subjects of her Majesty the Queen, as men with whom Protestantism is a living principle and not an idle name, and as the tried friends of the liberties of their country, surely Dissenters should be prepared to take common ground with their Protestant fellow-subjects on this great question—to surround the person and the throne of their Sovereign with assurances of loyal attachment—and to unite in earnest petition that her Majesty will see to it, that no ukases, bulls, or authoritative proclamations, issued by any foreign potentate, under whatever pretext or disguise, do take effect in these British realms. To see a mighty people, at an eventful crisis in its history, forgetting for a while its differences, and rising in defence of a great and common cause, is at all times an inspiring and an august spectacle; but never more so than when, jealous of its freedom, it awakes for the maintenance of its liberties and its laws. To such an act, then, we are summoned by passing events. If, in obedience to this call, we lift in firm but peaceful tones our united voice, the Roman Pontiff, with his insolent assumptions, will stand abashed, like Milton's Satan when Zephon spake, the powers of Europe will listen with awe to the invincible remonstrance of a free people, while the thunders of the Vatican will be hushed as the babblings of infancy amidst the terrible but divine harmonies of the ocean storm.

I am, yours, &c.,

Leicester, December 5th, 1850. J. P. MURSELL.

#### THE CENSUS OF 1851.

The schedule intended to be left at every house in Great Britain, to be filled in on the 31st of March next, has been completed, approved by the Secretary of State, and forwarded to journalists with a request for insertion. The following are the general instructions:—

This schedule is to be filled up by the occupier or person in charge of the house; if the house is let or sublet to different persons or families, in stories or apartments, the occupier or person in charge of each such story or apartment must make a separate return for his portion of the house upon a separate householder's schedule.

The instructions for filling up the column headed "Rank, profession, or occupation," are as follows:—

The superior titles of peers and other persons of rank to be inserted, as well as any high office which they may hold. Magistrates, aldermen, and other important public officers to state their profession after their official title.—Army, Navy, and Civil Service.—Add after the rank—"Army," "Artillery," "Royal Navy," "Marines," "East India Company's Service," as the case may be—distinguishing those on half-pay. Persons in the civil service to state the department to which they are attached after their title or rank; those on the superannuation list to be so distinguished. Chelsea, Greenwich, and other pensioners to be clearly designated.—Clergymen of the Church of England to return themselves as "Rector of —," "Vicar of —," "Curate of —," &c., or as not having cure of souls. They are requested not to employ the indefinite term "clerk." Presbyterian ministers and Roman Catholic priests to return themselves as such, and to state the name of the church

or chapel in which they officiate. Dissenting ministers to return themselves as "Independent minister of — Chapel," "Baptist minister of — Chapel," &c. Local or occasional preachers must return their ordinary occupations.—Legal Profession.—Barristers to state whether or not in actual practice; officers of any court, &c.; to state the description of office and name of court. The designation "attorney" or "solicitor" to be confined to those whose names are actually upon the roll. Persons in solicitors' offices should distinguish whether "solicitor's managing, articulated, writing, or general clerk."—Members of the medical profession to state the university, college, or hall, of which they are graduates, fellows, or licentiates—also whether they practise as physician, surgeon, or general practitioner, or are "not practising."—Professors, teachers, public writers, authors, and scientific men, to state the particular branch of science or literature which they teach or pursue; artists, the art which they cultivate. Graduates should enter their degrees in this column.—Persons engaged in commerce, as merchants, brokers, agents, clerks, commercial travellers, to state the particular kind of business in which they are engaged, or the staple in which they deal.—The term farmer to be applied only to the occupier of land, who is to be returned—"Farmer of [317] acres, employing [12] labourers;" the number of acres, and of in and out-door labourers, on March 31st, being in all cases inserted. Sons or daughters employed at home or on the farm, may be returned—"Farmer's son," "Farmer's daughter."

In trades the master is to be distinguished from the journeyman and apprentice, thus—"Carpenter—master employing [6] men;" inserting always the number of persons of the trade in his employ on March 31st.—In the case of workers in mines or manufactures, and generally in the constructive arts, the particular branch of work, and the material, are always to be distinctly expressed if they are not implied in the names, as in coal-miner, brass-founder, wool-carder, silk-thrower. Where the trade is much subdivided, both trade and branch are to be returned, thus—"Watchmaker—finisher;" "Printer—compositor."—A person following more than one distinct trade may insert his occupation in the order of their importance.—Messengers, porters, labourers, and servants to be described according to the place and nature of their employment.—Persons following no profession, trade, or calling, and holding no public office, but deriving their incomes chiefly from land, houses, mines, or other real property, from dividends, interest of money, annuities, &c., may designate themselves "Landed Proprietor," "Proprietor of Iron Mines," "Proprietor of Houses," "Fundholder," "Annuitant," &c., as the case may be. Persons of advanced age who have retired from business to be entered thus—"Retired Silk Merchant," "Retired Watchmaker," &c.—Almspeople and persons in the receipt of parish relief should, after being described as such, have their previous occupations inserted.—Women and Children.—The titles or occupations of ladies who are householders to be entered according to the above instructions. The occupations of women who are regularly employed from home, or at home, in any but domestic duties to be distinctly recorded. So also of children and young persons. Against the names of children above five years of age, if daily attending school or receiving regular tuition under a master or governess at home, write "Scholar," and in the latter case add "at home."

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, December 11, Two o'clock.

#### THE ANTI-PAPAL AGITATION.

THE QUEEN'S REPLY TO THE CORPORATION AND UNIVERSITY ADDRESSES.

Imposing deputations from the Corporation of London and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, went yesterday, by the Great Western Railway, to Windsor, to present their addresses to the Queen. Passing over the picturesque, and half-satiric description given by the *Times* reporter, of the procession from the railway station to the Castle—of the gilt carriages and scarlet robes of the civic dignitaries, contrasting in the fog with the pedestrian, sable-garbed heads of houses and fellows of colleges—of her Majesty's dress, and of the courtly personages present—we pass on at once to the responses which she made to the several addresses presented on bended knee. To the address of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Queen "listened with great attention," and at several portions "slightly nodded her head, as if in token of assent." The following "most gracious answer," was read by her Majesty in "a clear, sweet voice," and "every word was caught up with the greatest eagerness":—

I receive with much satisfaction your loyal and affectionate address.

I heartily concur with you in your grateful acknowledgment of the many blessings conferred upon this highly favoured nation, and in your attachment to the Protestant faith, and to the great principles of civil and religious liberty, in the defence of which the city of London has ever been conspicuous.

That faith and those principles are so justly dear to the people of this country that I confidently rely on their cordial support in upholding and maintaining them against any danger with which they may be threatened, from whatever quarter it may proceed.

To the address of the Common Council the following was the reply:—

I sincerely thank you for your renewed assurances of unaltered attachment to my person and throne, and to the constitution of this country.

Your tried and consistent advocacy of the equal enjoyment of civil rights by all classes of your fellow-subjects entitles the expression of your sentiments on the present occasion to peculiar consideration.

You may be assured of my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is justly prized by the people of this country, and to uphold, as its surest safeguard, the pure and scriptural worship of the Protestant faith, which has long been happily established in this land.

The Commissioners of Lieutenancy had also their distinct answer:—

Your renewed assurances on the present occasion of devoted loyalty and affection to my person and government, is highly gratifying to me.

It will continue to be, as it has ever been, my earnest endeavour, in the exercise of the power and authority entrusted to me, as the supreme governor of this realm, to maintain the independence, and uphold the constitutional liberties of my people against all aggression and encroachment.

On the presentation of the Oxford University address, it is said, "Lord John Russell, who had been standing to the left of the throne, as if deeply interested in the contents of the document, scrutinised the faces of the deputation very keenly as her Majesty returned the following gracious reply:—"

I accept with much satisfaction the renewed proof afforded by your address of your attachment and loyalty to my person and government, and of your steadfast adherence to the principles of the constitution.

It has ever been, and ever will continue to be, my endeavour to promote the efficiency, and maintain the purity, of our Reformed Church, the supreme government of which, under God, is by law confided to me; and it is highly gratifying to me to be assured of your faithful adherence to its principles, doctrine, and discipline.

While I cordially concur in the wish that all classes of my subjects should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, you may rely on my determination to uphold alike the rights of my Crown and the independence of my people against all aggressions and encroachments of any foreign power.

Your earnest endeavour, in the discharge of your important duties, to train up the youth intrusted to your care in faithful attachment to the truths of Holy Scripture cannot fail, under God's blessing, to have a powerful effect in strengthening the defenses of our Protestant faith, and in preserving inviolate the privileges which are justly dear to the people of this country.

The Cambridge deputation was led to the throne by Prince Albert, as Chancellor of the University. Her Majesty read in reply, "with great deliberation and decided accents:—"

I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address.

I fully participate in your expression of gratitude to Almighty God for the blessings he has been pleased to bestow upon this country, and I rejoice in the proofs which have been given of the zealous and undiminished attachment of the English people to the principles asserted at the Reformation.

While it is my earnest wish that complete freedom of conscience should be enjoyed by all classes of my subjects, it is my constant aim to uphold the just privileges and extend the usefulness of the Church established by law in this country, and to secure to my people the full possession of their ancient rights and liberties.

The mover and seconder of the corporation addresses, and distinguished members of the universities, "kissed hands" on retiring. "It was generally remarked that her Majesty looked very well, though somewhat flushed, and various opinions were passed with respect to the demeanour of Lord John Russell, who had stood with his finger on his eyes and with downcast head during the greater part of the time that was occupied by the address and reply. In the satirical disposition which the occasion evoked it did not escape some good-humoured comment that in the magnificent hall in which the luncheon was spread the portrait of a Cardinal (Gonsalvi) ornamented one extremity, and the portrait of a Pope (Pius VII.) the other, and seemed to smile indignantly on the Royal deputations. The portraits had been placed there when the Waterloo-hall was first decorated. About two o'clock all the members of the deputations had taken their leave, and the Castle resumed its ordinary quiet aspect."

MEETING AT SURREY CHAPEL.—Last night a very crowded meeting was held in Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars, the Rev. J. Sherman in the chair. The Rev. George Smith delivered a speech that was much applauded; and Dr. Stowell, of Cheshunt, remarked that the Protestant remonstrance was not the mere outbreak of a mob, not the gathering of a political party, not the outbreak of a long smouldering sense of injustice, but the indignant outburst of a great and generous people who had been taken by surprise by an act of most unwarrantable intrusion. A writer in the *Times* had asked what Protestants would do. They would do a great deal. Persecute they would not, but protest they would [cheers]. They would address her Majesty as a Protestant and as august monarch, and ask her to protect them against the popish aggression [cheers]. It was his belief that Protestant Dissenters did not go far enough in simply objecting to the hierarchy in the Church of England. At all events, if they objected to the established hierarchy, they must, in order to be consistent, oppose the establishment of any new hierarchy [cheers]. The Rev. Dr. Cumming also addressed the meeting, and suggested "the propriety of an act of parliament, providing that every bishop or archbishop who assumed temporal jurisdiction in virtue of the Papal bull, should, for the first offence, be fined £500, and, for the second, be transported to Botany-bay."

THE CATHOLIC DUKES OF NORFOLK has addressed a laconic but pregnant note to Lord Beaumont:—

Arundel Castle, Nov. 23.

MY DEAR LORD.—I so entirely coincide with the opinions in your letter to Lord Zetland, that I must write to you to express my agreement with you. I should think that many must feel as we do, that ultramontane opinions are totally incompatible with allegiance to our Sovereign, and with our Constitution.

I remain, my dear Lord, faithfully yours,  
To the Lord Beaumont. NORFOLK.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, WEDNESDAY, DEC. 11.

The Corn-market remains in the same dull listless state as mentioned before.

Supplies since Monday:—Wheat—English, 220; foreign 4,760 quarters. Barley—English, 1,180; foreign, 1,990 quarters. Oats—English, 110; Irish, 1,350; foreign, 2,350 quarters. Flour—English, 1,600; foreign, 1,610 sacks.



From its extensive circulation—far exceeding most of the journals of a similar character published in London—the *Nonconformist* presents a very desirable medium for advertisements, especially those relating to Schools, Books, Articles of General Consumption, Situations, and Appeals for Philanthropic and Religious Objects. The terms are low:—

For Eight Lines and under ..... 5s. 0d.  
For every additional Two Lines .... 0s. 6d.  
Half a Column ..... £1 | Column ..... £2  
A Reduction is made on Advertisements repeatedly inserted. All Advertisements from the country must be accompanied with a Post-office Order, or by a reference for payment in London.

THE TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION are 26s. per annum, 13s. for the half-year, and 6s. 6d. per quarter. Subscriptions (payable in advance) are received at the Office, 4, Horse Shoe-court, Ludgate-hill. Post-office Orders, &c., payable to Messrs. Miall and Cockshaw.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We take the present occasion of expressing our heartfelt gratitude to many friends, in different parts of the kingdom, for the cordial encouragement their letters have afforded us in reference to our own course at the existing crisis of ecclesiastical affairs.

"L. P. D."—We have considered the subject suggested in his note very seriously, and very often—and we have arrived at the conclusion that it cannot be done without imminent risk of ruin.

"A Dissenter," "W. E. Sadler," "L. C. J.," "A Subscriber," "J. S.," "Ben. Payne," "D. T. Fish," "Lionel Buller," and "Gabriel Slater," all on the anti-Papal question, and all worthy of insertion, are reluctantly set aside for want of space.

Correspondents on other topics must consent to wait.

## The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DEC. 11, 1850.

#### SUMMARY.

OUR space continues to be very nearly monopolized by matters connected with the anti-Papal demonstration. The heat of the controversy, however, is sensibly abating, and other sentiments besides simple hatred of Romanism are beginning to force for themselves an utterance. It is somewhat difficult to arrange in lucid order, for the purpose of current remark, so large and chaotic a mass of materials. Our readers, however, may perhaps be helped to comprehend at a glance the week's progress, if we range the observations which follow under the two heads of documents, and public or municipal meetings.

Mr. Roebuck's letter stands first for notice. It briefly sets forth the cardinal policy of the Whig party for the last half-century—it rebukes Lord John Russell for having abandoned that policy, and charges him with having evoked, by his celebrated letter, the demon of intolerance—it expresses fear for the continued safety of civil and religious liberty, and it treats with contempt the danger said to be threatened by the Papal aggression. The letter has excellent points in it, and gives some unmerciful hits. But the tone of it, we confess, is not to our mind. Mr. Roebuck is too oracular—speaks too much as if, by universal consent, or by unquestionable superiority of intellect, he occupied the chair of authority. Moreover, he seems to forget that it is possible to inveigh against intolerance in an intolerant spirit, and to violate all the sensibilities of charity whilst lecturing others on forgetfulness of its precepts. Mr. Roebuck's letter, however, may prepare Lord John Russell for some very annoying remarks on his past and present course, when Parliament meets, and indicates that the Radicals will be firmly opposed to any curtailment of the liberty which our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects now enjoy.

We have given entire, from the *Leicester Chronicle*, the letter of the Rev. J. P. Mursell. We understood it to have been his intention to send it forth to the world in the columns of the *Times* and *Daily News*. If it has been sent to these journals, it has not made its appearance in either of them, and this fact, along with many others we could mention, may perhaps suggest to our respected friend the truth, that neither of those journals care to let the public hear what views Dissenters entertain on the absorbing question of the day, whether on the one side, or the other. Two fallacies appear to us to run through Mr. Mursell's letter. The first is that the recent act of the Pope is, in substance, an innovation—whereas, he has introduced his bulls into this country for years past, he mapped it out long since into territorial districts, and he appointed over them "vicars apostolic" or bishops holding their authority expressly in his name, without incurring the displeasure, or exciting the fear, of any—and almost all the fresh power with which he has armed his nominees, is a title derived from some city or town in their respective dioceses, which we cannot take to be so very formidable as to endanger either the throne, or the Protestant religion. The second is, that Popery can act, in spite of public opinion, to the subversion of our liberties, and to the final alliance of itself with the civil power. Now the system may be insidious enough—but we do not believe its mysterious influence over public opinion

to be so great, as to make us fear that it will presently turn the current backward, or cajole the people of these realms out of their hard-earned independence. Facts, we think, should dispel this hallucination. England is in small danger from foreign popery—it has far more to fear from that which is indigenous. But, as the readers of our first ecclesiastical article will see, much of Mr. Mursell's letter falls to the ground, when he claims for Roman Catholics all the liberties they enjoyed prior to the issue of the papal rescript—inasmuch as they were allowed and possessed whatever is now claimed for them but episcopal titles derived from territory in England. The struggle, therefore, is mainly for a name, and we beg to remind our friend that Cardinal Wiseman, whom he mistakes for a Cardinal prince, is but a Cardinal priest, having no more temporal authority in Rome than Mr. Mursell or ourselves.

Another document of some significance has appeared in the *Times*. It is from the pen of a correspondent who subscribes himself "Carolus," and it is printed in large type, and commented on in an editorial article. The gist of it is this—this Papal agitation, whilst as a manifestation of Protestant strength it will not be without its use, is carried to a most perilous extent, and will serve to exhibit in anything but a glorious light the character of the people. Nothing practical can come out of it but a legal annulment of the episcopal titles conferred by the Pope, and this, if done, will be but a ridiculously small result of such a mighty stir. "I think," writes this correspondent, "the character of my countrymen, and their reputation all over the world, and in after ages, much more in jeopardy than their religion. Indeed, it is not without a feeling of shame that I see the pusillanimous terror of Popery which is so often and openly proclaimed. What! when we Protestants form nineteen out of twenty of the population, with an incalculable superiority of wealth, influence, and learning, a richly-endowed Church, all the great seminaries of education, almost the whole of the aristocracy, a vast preponderance of public opinion, and, above all, with reason, truth, and the Bible on our side, are we afraid of Roman Catholics? and can we not defy the open efforts and secret machinations of the Romish hierarchy?" The *Times* answers its correspondent thus:—Very clever—very moderate—very true—but the fact is, that as the conferring of titles raised the hubbub, so the abolition of titles only can quiet it again. It is but a trifle to do, and it must be done—and, that done, nothing more will be heard of the matter. Now, this is one of the straws showing which way the wind blows. The Whigs have more excitement behind them than they like—and they are anxious to prepare the public mind to rest satisfied with simply annulling the titles given to the ecclesiastical nominees of the Pope. They are afraid of the spirit which they have done so much to evoke.

We must not pass by wholly unnoticed Cardinal Wiseman's observations on the appointment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, delivered from his pulpit on Sunday last. Spite of his over-statement of his own case, we think it impossible to deny that he has said not a little which the common-sense of our countrymen will be able fully to appreciate. The clamour excited by the Pope's letter is shown to have originated in an occasion very ill-proportioned to its violence and duration—and the notions which appear to be entertained of the Pope's power would have been derided as ridiculous a few months ago. It is easy enough to reply to reasoning which one cannot confute, that it is but the reasoning of a Jesuit. It may be so—but after all, facts are facts even when enounced by the devil, and logic is logic from whatever quarter it may come. Jesuitry may be detestable enough—but when Jesuitry assigns reasons for what it says, we hold ourselves capable of judging of their character. It is not necessary that because Cardinal Wiseman is crafty, all the world should be simpletons.

The two archbishops, and most of the bishops, have united in a protest addressed to the Queen, which deprecates the insult offered to her Majesty by the Papal rescript, resents the indignity put upon the country, whose Church "being a true branch of Christ's holy Catholic Church, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's ordinances, is treated by the Bishop of Rome as having been a heathen land," and prays her Majesty to discountenance, by all constitutional means, the claims and usurpations of the Church of Rome. The Bishop of Exeter could not conscientiously sign this memorial—so he got up a much longer one all to himself, and sent it for presentation to the Home Secretary. He had altered, however, some of the technical phraseology in which such documents are invariably couched—using the word "beseech" for "humbly pray," and so on. Sir G. Grey, therefore, very unworthily, we think, took advantage of this to decline presenting the petition, although the bishop pleads precedent in his favour. His real offence consisted in depying, in its commonly received sense, the doctrine

of the Royal Supremacy, and in his professing to hold his episcopal authority, not from the Queen, but from Christ alone. But then the Home Secretary should not have ridden off on a pretext which every one can see was not his true reason.

So much for documents. Now for meetings, which we must dismiss with as much brevity as may be. The most important is that of Lay Churchmen, held last week in Freemasons' Hall—Lord Ashley in the chair. Perhaps it was the tone and spirit of this meeting which, more than anything else, convinced the correspondent of the *Times* that the agitation is getting to dangerous lengths; for it was not so much anti-Papal as anti-Tractarian. Indeed, its object was to induce Her Majesty to use whatever power she has as Head of the Church, to suppress all semi-papistical innovations, and to bring clergymen whose heads have been turned by too extravagant views of their own sufficiency, back again to the realms of actual prescription and custom in the discharge of their functions. The speeches were excellent, and whilst, of course, it will not be anticipated that we could approve of all that was said, we can say, nevertheless, that in very much of it, perhaps in most, we heartily sympathize. That which pained us in perusing the report was the striking evidence given by almost all that was uttered, that these gentlemen, while loving scriptural truth, do not appear to have a glimmering perception of the only acceptable mode of doing honour to it. The noble meeting held at Glasgow, and the proceedings of the town council at Edinburgh, the Dissenters' gathering in East London, the curious contest in the parish of Shore-ditch, and the resolutions passed by the Lancashire Congregational ministers, all offer attractive themes for a paragraph; and, under other circumstances, would unquestionably have secured more than a passing notice—but we are compelled in this crisis to hurry by many topics with a mere nod of recognition, with which we should, at another time, have been glad to tarry awhile, and shake hands.

The *Eclectic Review* claims one word. It is about to be published at one and sixpence a number, instead of half-a-crown, while the quantity of matter to be given is to remain undiminished, and its quality improved rather than deteriorated. Dr. Stowell is named as an associate with Dr. Price in the editorial department. Our opinion of the *Eclectic*, and of the important service it has rendered to the principles in which we take a prime interest, is too well known to our readers to need repetition. We commend this new series to the friends of sound theology, and of civil and religious liberty—and we are sanguine in the hope we entertain, that the irrevocable experiment now made to widen the range of its usefulness will be immediately and triumphantly successful.

Foreign intelligence is not very striking this week. Such as we fancy might interest our readers, we have given in a condensed form elsewhere.

#### THE FOG.

FOG—dense fog, as if December were the world's washing-day, and England were the world's washhouse—fog has, for the last few days, obscured all sight, and choked all utterance. There may be country spots upon which the rays of the sun beam gratefully, even at this moment—spots which are either lifted above, or apparently overlooked by, the vapoury cloud which environs other localities; but here, in the metropolis, and, as we gather from the papers, in our large manufacturing towns, northward, the inhabitants may be said to live, at present, with little light, and with no prospect. Those who stay at home are shrouded in gloom—those who go abroad are unable to see more than a yard or two before them. There is a general confusedness of notion as to one's whereabouts. It seems impossible to tell one turning from another, for all familiar landmarks which were wont to guide us, for the time being, obliterated. Ordinarily, we can form no probable conjecture of what is to come next. The most ludicrous mistakes frequently occur. Persons meaning to go West grope their way with great pertinacity to the East—ships on the river, feeling for a safe channel, run ashore—cabs, picking out their way with the utmost caution, come into collision—even the very lights which commonly serve to cheer and direct, are now to be discerned only when you come immediately beneath them, and tend rather to bewilder, than to guide, the passenger. All is uncertainty—all matter of pure conjecture—all a hazy blank, except the one great dominant fact—impenetrable fog.

Apt type this of our present political condition. The Papal letter has suddenly enveloped this country in a strange and unprecedented mist, which blots out every idea but that which itself produces. Accordingly, we are all at sixes and sevens. Nobody seems to understand the bearings of his position in relation to surrounding points. The most unlooked-for, and, as one would have guessed, the most unlikely mischances are occurring. It is impossible to say of any authority, power, party, or individual, with certainty of



being right, where it is, or whither it tends. The Cabinet is in a maze, and no one can foretell at what point it will find its egress. The Church is in confusion, utterly at a loss as to the leading principle by which it should guide itself, and as to the practical steps which, in the present crisis, it behoves it to adopt. Dissent is everywhere, and nowhere, fighting "like one that beats the air," alarmed at phantasms, and rushing into the arms of its oppressor. Tories, Liberals, and Radicals—Puseyites, Evangelicals, and Anti-state-churchmen—the platform, the pulpit, and the press—one knows not what to make of any of them, or where they may be met with to-day or to-morrow. Things necessary to be thought of are forgotten. Things insignificant in themselves are magnified into undue proportions. The present condition of public affairs is as a dream, wherein the most grotesque images, and the most absurd scenes, present themselves, none of which, however, now strikes the mind as unnatural, and most of which will be remembered afterward, in the waking hours of sober reflection, only to be laughed at as supremely ridiculous. We recollect nothing like it but the railway mania; and it will be well, if, like that passage of our national history, it do not, at its close, leave us, politically speaking, in the midst of misfortune, embarrassments, and wrecks.

What will Parliament do next session, happily some two months distant from us yet? What will its dominant spirit be? what its guiding principles of action? These are questions which occur to every one, but questions which none are able to answer. Will the boiling indignation of the British people, fairly represented in the Commons, expend itself in denouncing Roman Catholic ecclesiastical titles, or will it proceed to undo some portion of that work for the securing of religious liberty, which, for the last thirty years, it has laboriously occupied itself in achieving? Will it arm the State against religious opinion, or pander to the exalted pretensions of our own hierarchy, or content itself with declaring the Pope's letter a nullity, or betake itself with vigour to cleanse the Church Establishment of the strong leaven of Popery it contains? Will it avail itself of the present excitement to aim a blow at separatism, or will it cautiously and wisely purify the two fountains of theological teaching, by letting in upon them more largely the light of modern times? Will it revoke its too liberal grants of public money to Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in our colonies, repeal the Maynooth College Act, and wipe its hands clean of the charge of supporting and fostering Popery? Will it plunge headlong into a discussion of theological tenets, try to unravel the mysteries of "apostolical succession," or, out of the chaos at present prevailing, educe some broad, intelligible principles, bearing on the relation of the Church to the State? One cannot conjecture what will be its course. On the one hand, the House is pledged, at an early period of the session, to emancipate the Jews—on the other, it will find itself compelled, by some Act or other, to check the presumption of the Roman Catholics. How will it steer its way between Scylla and Charybdis? What maxims will it adopt, which shall serve for guidance in both these and all other questions, affecting the claims of the Establishment, and the rights of religious liberty? We are in the dark, but one thing, we think, we may venture to predict—that the session of 1851 will be an intensely ecclesiastical one.

Alas! for other subjects—for parliamentary and financial reform, for colonial representative government, for a revision of our taxational system, for the settlement of Ireland, for the abolition of capital punishments, and for the substitution of arbitration in the place of war! They will come up, doubtless, but it seems too likely that they will come up only as odds and ends. The strength of the House, its best energies, its warmest zeal, its keenest discussions, its most valuable time, will be devoted to this Papal question, and to those collateral subjects which arise out of it, and all other matters will fail of attracting serious interest. In this respect, if in no other, the Pope will have done the Whigs, and the aristocracy, important service, by enabling them to ride over another session without doing anything worth mentioning for the people. Lord John is lucky, and he knows well how to avail himself of the windfalls of good-fortune. With a great increase of popularity, although with irreparable damage to his reputation as a statesman, he will probably walk over the course of another Parliamentary session, postponing and pooh-poohing all needful reforms, in consequence of the creation of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. The winter flood comes down just in time to float again the stranded craft of Whiggery, and give it another chance of getting into deep water.

Fog—fog—would we were well out of it. It makes men irritable, suspicious, intolerant. There have been things said, and deeds done, under cover of the universal excitement, which we had hoped would be impossible in this country, and in these times. Charity is forgotten. Moderation despised. Evil passions have been inflamed, and fear, more cruel than malice, has been fanned into fierceness.

Surely we have had more than enough of this—more than will conduce to the future well-being of our great empire. We begin to long for brighter and sunnier days; for an atmosphere of public feeling in which the sooty particles of thought, instead of, as now, mingling with the very air we breathe, and choking us with their sulphureous pungency, shall go right up, and become lost to perception. No one can pronounce the present to be a healthy state—no one can wish it to become permanent. It is, doubtless, one of the necessary changes through which the country had to pass; but, in itself, it is neither pleasant nor profitable. A brisk frost, or even pelting rain, would be a sensible relief.

#### LORD CARLISLE'S LECTURES.

THE Earl of Carlisle has delivered two lectures during the past week to the members of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, and to so many of the public as could obtain standing-room in the largest hall of the town. The first lecture was on the "Poetry of Pope"—the second on the "United States of America." We propose to offer a few observations on the remarkable circumstance of a peer of the realm lecturing in a Mechanics' Institute.

The lectures themselves might well be exempted from criticism, since it is proverbially ungenerous and unwise to scrutinize a gift—especially if, as was this, unsolicited and graceful; and as they are free from all pretension and professional parade. Their exordium is a disclaimer of originality in thought, or novelty of information. The one is professedly an attempt to vindicate for a favourite poet his rightful position in the commonwealth of letters—the other, the result of personal observation and reflection. In either case the execution was fully equal to the design. The "Poetry of Pope" was presented to a thronging, popular audience, in a style that would have done credit to any of those honourable and learned gentlemen who instruct the public from the platform in subjects that were, not long since, the monopoly of the Professor's chair. There was industry, at least, in the getting, and there is art in the setting, of these gemmed lines; the household familiarity of which was cited by the lecturer as a "general test money to the reputation, if not to the merit, of Pope."

"When there has been a pleasant party of people, either in a convivial or intellectual view—I wish we might think it of our meeting this evening—[cheers]—we say that it has been—

'The feast of reason, and the flow of soul.'

How often are we warned—I have sometimes even heard the warning addressed to Mechanics' Institutes, that—

'A little learning is a dangerous thing.'

How often reminded,

'An honest man's the noblest work of God' [cheers].

Or, with nearly the same meaning,

'Who taught the useful science to be good.'

There is a couplet which I ought to carry in my own recollection—

'What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards?

Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards' [laughter].

It is an apt illustration of the offices of hospitality,

'Welcome the coming, speed the going guest.'

How familiar is the instruction,

'To look through Nature up to Nature's God.'

As rules with reference to composition,

'The last and greatest art—the art to blot.'

'To snatch a grace beyond the reach of art.'

And then as to the best mode of conveying the instruction,

'Men must be taught as if you taught them not.'

There is the celebrated definition of wit,

'True wit is nature to advantage dressed;

What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed.'

Do you want to illustrate the importance of early education?

You observe,

'Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.'

Do you wish to characterise ambition somewhat favourably?

You call it,

'The glorious fault of angels and of gods.'

Or describing a great conqueror,—

'A mighty hunter, and his prey was man.'

Do you seek the safest rule for architecture or gardening?

'Consult the genius of the place in all.'

Are you tempted to say anything rather severe to your wife or daughter, when she insists on a party of pleasure, or an expensive dress? You tell her,—

'That every woman is at heart a rake' [a laugh].

And then, if you wish to excuse your own submission, you plead,—

'If to her share some female errors fall,

Look on her face, and you'll forget them all.'

[Cheers and laughter.]

How often are we inclined to echo the truth,—

'That fools rush in where angels fear to tread.'

And this, too,—

'That gentle dulness often loves a joke.'

Who has not felt this to be true?

'Hope springs eternal in the human breast;

Man never is, but always to be blest.'

When an orator, or a Parliamentary candidate—in which last capacity I have often appeared before some of you [much cheering]—wishes to rail at absolute governments, he talks of

'The monstrous faith of many made for one.'

Then there are two maxims, one in politics and one in religion, which have both been extremely found fault with, but the very amount of censure proves what alone I am now attempting to establish, not the truth or justice of Pope's words, but their great vogue and currency—

'For forms of government let fools contest;

Whate'er is best administered is best.'

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;  
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

The cheers could scarcely have been less loud and frequent if the reciter had been a promising tyro of the modern Peripatetics. In the lecture on America, the same good sense, refined feeling, and elegance of expression, are visible, as in that on Pope. There is also a freedom of opinion and speech, which shows a mind superior to class influences; as in the passage on Voluntaryism:—

"It is my wish to touch very lightly upon any point which among us, among even some of us now here, may be matter of controversy. I, however, honestly think that the experience of the United States does not as yet enable them to decide on either side the argument between the Established and Voluntary systems in religion. Take the towns by themselves, and I think the Voluntary Principle appears fully adequate to satisfy all religious exigencies. Then it must be remembered that the class which makes the main difficulty elsewhere scarcely, if at all, exists in America. It is the blessed privilege of the United States, and it is one which goes very far to counterbalance any drawbacks at which I may have to hint, that they really have not, as a class, any poor among them. A real beggar is what you never see. On the other hand, over their immense tracts of territory the Voluntary system has not sufficed to produce sufficient religious accommodation. It may, however, be truly questioned whether any establishment would be equal to that function. This is, however, one among the many questions which the republican experience of America has not yet solved. As matters stand at present, indifference to religion cannot fairly be laid to her charge. Probably religious extremes are pushed further than elsewhere. There certainly is a breadth and universality of religious liberty which I do not regard without some degree of envy [applause]."

We are not given to exult over the appearance of a "real live lord" in a popular assembly. We do not see much of "condescension" in a member of the aristocracy mixing with his fellow-men in unassuming equality—or, what is better still, depending on his personal qualities for respect. But we do rejoice, and that greatly, when a man born to the possession of wealth, dignity, political power, and the highest educational advantages, places himself at the service of his fellow-countrymen, without ambitious motives, or the ostentation of patronage. It adds another to the number of those whom we personally love. There are tens of thousands who, like ourselves, feel something of individual affection for Lord Carlisle, with undiminished hostility to his "order"—to the system which he adorns, but cannot save. He is everywhere and always the same. He speaks for the people, and for peace among nations, classes, and sects, at the banquet-table, as well as on the Yorkshire hustings—in the House of Lords, and, we believe, in the very ear of Sovereignty. He is one of the happy few of whom all men speak well, and yet on whom none dare pronounce the woe suspended over the universally complacent and compromising. If he be not "born to command," he is, which is far better, born to be loved. If not noble, in the old sense of masterfulness, power—he is, in the highest sense, of gentle blood.

A FAMILY CAST AWAY ON LAKE SUPERIOR.—A Mr. Griswold, wife, and small child, with a boy about seventeen, the son of a Mr. Haverstraw, set out a few weeks since in a skiff from Eagle Harbour to reach Eagle River, some ten miles distant up the coast. Mr. Witherell was engaged building a government lighthouse on the point projecting out into the harbour from the mainland, and saw the company as they rounded the point on their perilous voyage. It was blowing quite strongly off land, and fears were entertained that a shift of the wind would beach them on a bold and bad shore. Determined to have plenty of leeway, the little craft was observed to put forth some distance into the lake, and was soon lost sight of. It never reached its destination. Days and weeks passed—nothing was heard from the adventurers. The coast between the two points was daily traversed, and pieces of the wreck supposed to be found, but no tidings of the sufferers. At length all hope was given up, and their friends mourned them as dead. But the sequel proved otherwise. After three weeks' absence, this little crew were all found safe at the Saut. They had been picked up two weeks before by a coasting schooner on the Canada shore, whither they had been seven days drifting. The distance across the lake at that point must be from 250 to 300 miles. It appears that the boat got too far from shore, and the wind increasing drove them into the lake. Night came on, and the wind not abating, the boat was put in charge of the lad, who was a half-bred, and well acquainted with the lake. He got up a sort of sail and put before the wind for the Canada shore. Seven days and nights they spent on this lonely sea without seeing a vessel, without food. The wind changed several times, and kept them for days out of sight of land. When found, they had entirely surrendered themselves to their fate. How they lived so long under such exposure and without food, is a most unparalleled mystery. Their discovery was a mere accident by the schooner, which happened to be coasting along the Canada shore. Altogether, this is one of the most remarkable incidents that has ever occurred in these lakes—noted, as they are, for adventures, shipwrecks, and escapes.—*American Paper.*

Submarine electric telegraph wires have been laid down on the bed of the Hudson, above Fort Lee, so as to give a free communication with the south and west.



## THE HALF CENTURY: ITS HISTORY, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

"History may be defined as the biography of nations."—Dr. Arnold.

[Continued from last week.]

A few words on our internal history during the last three years of this dismal period are now required of us. The Perceval administration was justly mourned as the last truly Protestant and Tory cabinet. With its successor was introduced that policy of concession and temperate conservatism which had its highest type in the great statesman who has recently departed, but who was then commencing public life. The Catholic question was no longer tabooed in the cabinet, now that the monarch was virtually defunct; so that when Canning proposed, in the summer of 1812, to engage the House to the discussion of the question the following year, Castlereagh redeemed the pledge he and his great master had given and broken, by voting for the motion, which was carried by the triumphant majority of two hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and six. In the Upper House, the Marquis of Wellesley introduced a similar resolution; three cabinet ministers spoke in its favour; and it was lost by only one vote. A general election—Parliament having sat six sessions—which ensued in the same year, amidst intense excitement, resulted in a House less favourable to the Catholic claims. When Grattan introduced a bill, based on Canning's resolution of the previous session, the first division, after a fierce debate of four nights, showed a majority of only forty. In committee, the Speaker, Mr. Abbott, passionately opposed the bill, declaring that, under its sanction, the Crown itself might be Catholic, and moved the omission of the vital clause—that which admitted Catholics to Parliament; and, unhappily, succeeding by a majority of four, the bill was abandoned. This retrogression had more to do than was apparent with *ad extra* influences. Concessions at home alternated with victories abroad. The retreat from Moscow and the march on Paris deferred for twenty years the triumph of a cause that seemed beyond the fear of reverse. All domestic interests were absorbed in the fierce excitement of victory in the greatest conflict of modern times. Wellington, for some time subject to ignorant and unjust detraction, suddenly became the object of universal and extravagant praise. In 1811, young Mr. Peel displayed his sagacity and generosity in defending him—in 1814, Canning and Grattan eulogized him in their most eloquent strains. "The mighty deluge," said the former, "which overwhelmed the continent, begins to subside; the limits of nations are again visible; the spires and turrets of old establishments reappear above the subsiding wave. To whom, under God, do we owe this? To the illustrious Wellington—whose admirable designs, whose rapid executions, whose sagacious combinations of means to an end, the completeness of whose plans, whose thunderbolt of war at last launched upon the foe, has furnished this country with the most ample basis she ever yet possessed for a secure and glorious peace." The formal thanks of both Houses embodied the panygerics of their leading orators, and were personally acknowledged. All the titles of the peerage, with permission to cover his breast with foreign decorations, were bestowed upon the "illustrious soldier." Nor with these honorary rewards did the admiring gratitude of Parliament and people content itself. In successive sums, four hundred thousand pounds were voted to Wellington for his services. Large are the rewards of peace to the few who have headed the hosts and survived the vicissitudes of war. But large as are those rewards, they constitute only a fraction of the sum total of a nation's "glory bill." Every attempt to represent to the mind the cost of this twenty years' war, is utterly inadequate. It is possible to calculate, perhaps with approximate correctness, the loss by death in the field, on the march, and in the hospital, on the deck and in the cockpit; and thence to overwhelm the imagination and torture the heart with an elaborated tableau of physical suffering—or to estimate the pecuniary loss to the community, negatively, by the abstraction of so many labourers from the productive fields of industry, and, positively, by their sustenance in idleness; not only non-productive while consuming, but destructive, in the shape of arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, of several times their proper share of material wealth were they peacefully employed; and so to astound the faculties with an incomprehensible aggregate of annihilated substance, whether in the shape of pounds sterling, or in the more impressive form of quarters of wheat. It is easy to write down that France, from the Revolution to the Restoration, levied upwards of four million men, a million and a half of whom perished in war, and half a million languished for years in foreign captivity—and that England lost, during the same period, more than three hundred ships of war. It is a step towards the full understanding of this awful statement, to think, for a moment, of every French regiment employed with the implements of agriculture upon their native fields, and on every English ship converted, as it might be, into a flourishing town. Not dwelling upon these suggestive circumstances of this vast destructive process—this deliberate surpassing, by the art of man, of the volcano, the earthquake, the tropical tornado, in desolating potency—we might go on to ponder its influence, its diverging and reflex influence, on the finances, the commerce, the manners, the religion, and the literature—on all, in short, that constitutes the condition and character of a nation; to which we devote a brief concluding chapter.

### CHAPTER X.

How nations survive crises—Statistical data—Progress of population—and of pauperism and crime—The rise of prices, but not of wages—Extensive use of machinery, and its effect on the poor—Exports and imports—Revenue and Debt—Paper money and Sinking Fund—Literature, Science, and Art.

"WHEN, previous to the Revolution," says Chateaubriand, speaking "from the tomb" ("Mémoires d'outre Tombe")—"I read in history of public

troubles in different nations, I could not conceive how people could have existed in those times." A similar difficulty must have been experienced by the thoughtful reader of the foregoing pages, as it had often previously been felt by the writer. "The Revolution made me comprehend the possibility of such a mode of life. The moments of crisis produce a redoubled vitality in the life of man. The struggle and the shock form a transitory combination which does not allow of a moment of ennui."

We shall probably find in the answer of the brilliant Frenchman to his own question, the solution of the problem we have used his words to describe. We shall find that, notwithstanding the tremendous sacrifices which England made, and the sufferings she endured, through the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, she progressed beyond former parallel in those particulars to which peace is usually considered all but essential—in population, in agricultural productiveness, in foreign trade; but, at the same time, in crime and pauperism; and that, moreover, while the amount of her burdens was exaggerated, her energy was stimulated, its exercise followed by a perilous collapse, and has entailed upon posterity incumbrances not inherited from prior ages.

The following statistics—extracted from Porter's "Progress of the Nation"—are the essential data of our investigation. Deficient as they obviously are, they bear the highest reputation—and the reign of the statisticians dates only from within the last ten years. For convenience of reference and remark they are divided into two classes:—

Years.	Population of Great Britain.	Commitments in England & Wales.	Poor and County Rates.	Average price of Wheat.
"	£		£	s. d.
1800	10,680,000	....	.....	127 0
1801	10,880,000	....	4,017,871	128 6
1802	10,492,646	....	.....	67 3
1803	11,007,000	....	4,077,891	60 0
1804	11,200,000	....	.....	69 6
1805	11,404,000	4,605	.....	80 0
1806	11,600,000	4,346	.....	88 0
1807	11,850,000	4,446	.....	78 2
1808	12,040,000	4,735	.....	85 3
1809	12,190,000	5,330	.....	108 0
1810	12,310,000	5,146	.....	112 0
1811	12,596,803	5,337	6,656,105	168 0
1812	12,800,000	6,576	.....	118 0
1813	13,000,000	7,164	.....	120 0
1814	13,200,000	6,390	6,294,581	85 0
1815	13,420,000	7,818	5,418,846	78 0

The first class of facts are those relating to population, pauperism, crime, and the price of wheat. These have a close and potent relation to one another. The popular doctrine concerning them is substantially correct—however unsatisfactory, or rather incomplete, in their theoretic development, to the social philosopher—that the increase of the first-named (population) is significant of prosperity; and that the increase of the latter three, is mutually consequent, as well as invariably coincident. The "true law of population," it may be, is yet to be ascertained—whether a high or low physical condition be more favourable to the propagation of the species, may, perhaps, still be questioned. The truth probably is, that while the latter is more prolific, its productions are feeble and short-lived—that poverty has many more children than wealth or competence, but that they perish as of a rot; that the balance is thus preserved, and human productiveness is not permitted to outstrip the provision, or rather capability, of Nature. So long, therefore, as year by year a steady increase of population is observable, it is assumed that no serious interruption has been offered to the natural progress of a nation. Applying this first test, we detect no indication of national suffering during the war, but the reverse. The numerical growth of the people, it will be observed, was uninterrupted, either by the desolations of the war, or the unseen operations of domestic distress. The census was taken in 1801, and again in 1811; in both cases, the figures given above include the army and navy, in which there were, at the first date, 470,598—at the latter, 640,500; and the increase per cent. between the two periods was 14.3. The next test we apply, that of pauperism, is conclusive in the opposite direction. The increase of pauperism, evinced by the rapidly augmented amounts of poor and county rates, is indisputable proof of the distressed condition of the working classes. The table given above is imperfect; omitting several years consecutively, not giving the number of recipients as well as amount dispensed, nor distinguishing county from poor's rate, and is considerably below what is given by other authorities; but all accounts concur in testifying that the burden of the community for the maintenance of its destitute poor, rose fully fifty per cent. The criminal returns, assuming the connexion of destitution and crime, are decisive in proving the popular deterioration. If the column distinguished grave from light offences, the great proportionate preponderance of the former would confirm the conclusion. Nor are the causes of this deterioration hard to discover. The monetary difficulties of '93 to '97 had made thousands of bankrupts among the middle classes, forcing them down to a lower rank, and their dependents lower still. While the price of wheat and other articles of food had risen in a frightful ratio, wages had not kept par with them. The cause of the former we shall presently show; but it did not affect, in an equal degree, the latter. *A priori* reasoning and uniform experience would lead us to expect the discrepancy. Working men knew the fact, that their wages did not rise with their expenses, long before they understood the reason—namely, that the one is not dependent upon the other. A multitude of statements are at hand to confirm this conclusion as to the particular period before us. They may be condensed into the one fact, that at the middle of the last century wheat stood at thirty shillings per quarter, and the rural labourer's wages at six shillings per week—at the beginning of the present century, the former was a hundred and twenty, the latter ten, and never rose, through the whole period, above eleven or twelve. With this was going on a scandalous process—stimulated by the enormously



high value of land and its produce—the enclosure of common land, not for the benefit of the people, but of landlords. Between 1800 and 1810, 1,550,010 acres were thus appropriated; and the system went on at the same rate till the enactment of the corn-laws in 1816, and after. The very extensive introduction of mechanical as a substitute for manual labour, also contributed largely to the disasters of the poor. Where it did not throw out of employment altogether, and inflict entire destitution, it lessened means too scanty before—stopped the cottage dame's spinning-wheel, if it did not silence the weaver's loom. However great the benefits ultimately conferred upon the nation by that memorable change, there can be no doubt that its immediate effect upon a class—and that the largest and most helpless—was severely disastrous. The remarks of Mr. Doubleday on the general subject and this particular crisis, are as truthful as they are emphatic:—"Under a proper system the employment of machinery cannot be an evil; but where the value of everything is measured, as in England, by money, and by money alone—where the consequences of things, as respects national morality, or national happiness, are put aside as unworthy of notice amidst the calculation of profits and the summing up of pounds sterling—these inventions may, and do, bring with them many evils. So it was in this instance. No one deemed the labourers who were thus deprived of employment worth a thought. Instead of being cared for, they were left to the comfort of a metaphor, and told to open out or seek new channels of industry." So severe and extensive was the distress inflicted by this transition from one epoch to another of our industrial history, that the winter of 1811, and half the following year, the northern and midland counties were the scene of continual outrages—known as the Luddite, or machine-breaking, riots—and the "comfort" administered was not even that of a "metaphor," but a judicial commission and numerous executions.

We pass on to a second class of facts—those relating to the industry, commerce, revenue, and debts of the nation:—

Years.	British and Irish Produce Exported.	Total Exports. Official value.	Imports. Official value.	Revenue.	National Debt.
1800	£ 11,549,681	£ 32,381,617	£ 28,257,781	£ 34,145,581	£ 447,147,164
1801	10,336,966	34,031,574	30,435,268	34,113,146	447,043,489
1802	12,677,431	38,873,324	28,308,373	36,368,149	532,231,786
1803	8,032,643	28,499,174	25,104,541	38,689,392	528,260,442
1804	8,938,741	31,616,050	26,454,281	46,176,402	545,803,318
1805	7,643,120	31,020,061	27,344,720	50,847,706	573,529,932
1806	7,717,555	33,579,434	25,501,478	55,796,086	593,694,287
1807	7,624,312	31,015,536	23,326,845	59,339,311	601,733,073
1808	5,776,775	30,387,990	25,660,953	62,998,191	604,287,474
1809	12,750,358	46,292,632	30,170,292	63,719,400	611,789,091
1810	9,357,435	41,419,336	37,613,294	67,144,542	624,301,296
1811	6,117,720	28,801,190	25,240,704	65,173,545	635,583,418
1812	9,533,065	39,042,973	24,923,922	65,037,850	661,409,958
1813	Custom House records destroyed by fire.			68,748,363	740,023,535
1814	19,365,981	53,573,234	32,622,771	71,134,503	752,857,236
1815	15,748,554	58,624,550	31,822,053	72,210,512	816,311,940

The first of these columns tells its own tale of agricultural activity, and illustrates the above-mentioned progress of enclosure acts. The export and import returns show how for awhile Napoleon's continental system retarded the dispersion through Europe of the productions of our manufacturing energy. A great proportion of the value put down, went over to North and South America; with the latter states of which a gambling trade was carried on, to recoil on the speculators; and another large proportion to the colonies we had taken from France and her allies. But withal, there was a vast accumulation of manufactured goods in the warehouses of Lancashire. The quantities of cotton, flax, &c., wrought up was immense. The consumption of raw cotton at five different periods was as follows:—

In 1785	17,992,882 lbs.
In 1801	54,203,433 lbs.
In 1805	58,873,163 lbs.
In 1810	123,701,826 lbs.
In 1815	92,625,951 lbs.

To the revenue and debt a common remark is applicable—that enormously large as was their real amount, the nominal was much exaggerated. The floods of paper-money with which the Bank of England and its provincial offspring deluged the country,—the Bank Restriction Act (such was the misnomer of the edict which released the Bank from the obligations it could no longer meet) being prolonged from session to session, or until six months after the declaration of peace—and which flowed back upon the Treasury, both as taxes and loans, were in reality far below their legal value. Their depreciation below the coined standard is abundantly proved by the incontestable fact, that the exportation of gold and silver was severely prohibited; and that at the same time the one-pound note could be bought for sixteen silver shillings, the golden guinea would fetch readily a one-pound note and seven shillings. Lord King, one of the "convertible economists," brought the question to an issue, by giving notice to his tenants [1810] that he would receive his rents only in gold; and that again was met by Parliament declaring Bank of England notes a legal tender—as they continue to this day. As the paper-money was thrown upon the market, general prices of course rose. Every one had notes, and was ready to part with them for more substantial commodities, the latter naturally rising in value as their purchase-money became plentiful. How huge a robbery was perpetrated on the nation when the loans thus borrowed in depreciated paper were acknowledged, and saddled on future generations, at standard money value, will be hereafter shown. Of the debt, it should also here be recalled to memory, that it was the professed, and possibly the sincere, intention of Pitt, to effect its extinction with his own generation. Had he survived to witness the success of the great—the greatly criminal—design of restoring by force of foreign arms the Bourbons, which meaner men accomplished, perhaps he would have prevailed with the nation to give a fairer trial to that Sinking Fund which it is now the fashion to deride. Great financial

authorities had laid down the principle which has perplexed so many juvenile arithmeticians in its school-book form—the astounding results of compound interest. So long as there was any surplus, however small, the system was sound and practicable, just and beneficial. But when money came to be regularly borrowed for the very purpose of lying at interest to pay off former loans, the thing was suspected to be a juggle. Large sums were applied, however, year by year, till the conclusion, and some ten years beyond the conclusion, of the war; as we shall hereafter have occasion to explain.

Our remaining space permits scarcely more than the enumeration of the eminent men in literature, science, and the arts, who adorned this troublous period—nor adorned alone, but, as the stars were fabled to do, influenced as well as enlightened. Their number and works are strikingly illustrative of the aid which great men draw from, and the influence they exert upon, their age. The effect of the French Revolution upon the higher intellects of Europe, was like that produced by immersing in a jar of oxygen gas a lighted taper. The enthusiasm natural to genius was inflamed by contact with the fiery vapours evolved by the shock of wide-spread social convulsions. With the dawn of the century rose, conspicuous and powerful, that marvellous triumvirate—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey;—presently, that self-elected tribunal, which vindicated its presumption by the blows it inflicted;—again, that band of sweet, soft singers stigmatized as the "Cockney school"—and, anon, as if to avenge the derision of their milder brethren, the school anathematized as the "Satanic." Nor were these all. Belonging to neither of these companies, nor constituting another, were Scott, Campbell, and Moore. The "Lakers" gave the first and most decisive proof of the influence on the mind of educated English youth of the French Revolution. The homely, though robust versification of Cowper and Crabbe, which had supervened upon the elegant inanity and feeble artificiality of a previous age, was supplanted in turn by a poetry that took its inspiration immediately from Nature and the human heart—from Nature in her Alpine simplicity and grandeur; from hearts baptized with the afflatus of new, sublime hopes, quickly succeeded by the sorrows of doubt and disappointment. Scott's metrical romances embodied and fed upon the chivalric spirit which a general war inevitably revived; and Campbell's lyrics were the poem of each successive triumph, and the dirge of lamented deaths. Leigh Hunt softened with the beauty of his Italian fancies, and Charles Lamb with his own genial spirit, the fierceness of public passions. Byron flung the heat of an orientalized imagination and of mental suffering into the war of social elements, and possessed with a sentimental misanthropy youthful multitude whom public and real wrongs had failed to excite. Shelley sang with self-consuming energy in strains of the highest poetry, and assailed every institution and belief with a vehemence that had no particle of bitterness. The "Edinburgh Review" originated with men of another class of mind. It was in November 1802 that the first number of that celebrated journal appeared—written by Jeffrey, Horner, Sidney Smith, and Dr. Thomas Browne, whose names indicate the variety of their subjects. Taylor, of Norwich; the precursor of German students, Henry Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh, were shortly after added to its staff. Their success and partizan power soon excited to rivalry; of which the "Quarterly Review" and the "Eclectic" were the earliest forms. The former enlisted the pens of Gifford and Southey—the latter won literary celebrity from the splendid articles contributed by John Foster, who had made himself famous by the publication of his "Essays," and subsequently of "Popular Ignorance." Among political writers, Malthus, Bentham, and Cobbett, claim mention here. The first-named put forth, at the beginning of the century, that ill-famed book which, whatever its fallacies, and however revolting its conclusions, has the high merit of fairly placing before the thinking part of the community a branch of science supremely important to the public weal. Bentham has originated a school in moral and political philosophy which, however defective in theory, has contributed greatly to human advancement. The impress of Cobbett's power is still upon the national mind. His thorough, intense nationality—his robust logic and fierce invective—his grave mistakes and stupid prejudices—unconquerable energy and perseverance, whether in self-education or in his public career—all contributed to his mighty influence. He unquestionably did more, by his Protean publications, to educate that mass of English radicalism which has borne up against Tory absolutism and Whig trickery, than any man of his age. If in the ranks of science we point only to Herschel, Dr. Jenner, and Sir Humphrey Davy, we indicate, at once, the triumphs that were made in physical knowledge, and the commencement of that application of the loftiest facts to humble uses, which made those discoveries as beneficial to the many as they were honourable to the illustrious few. If in painting and architecture no greater names stand forth than those of Wilkie and Nash, they suggest a reflection appropriate to this whole review—the painter sought his subjects in the scenes of home, the festivities, cares, and sorrows of the people; the architect employed his talent in adorning the capital of the British empire, in rearing habitations for the middle rather than monuments to the higher classes. The democratic and the utilitarian were on every side beginning to supplant the exclusive and the proud. If the example of the Court, latterly, was as vitiating to taste as corrupting to morals, the people were awakening to the maxim,

"'Tis use alone that sanctifies success,  
And splendour borrows all her rays from sense."

There was rising in the higher circles of society, along with that religious earnestness which we have before described as a new element, a benevolent regard for the well-being of the poor, which, if it contented itself with the institution of Sunday-schools, Savings' Banks, and charitable societies, yet produced bolder thinking and larger sympathies in the next generation. There was also springing up among the educated, a kindly perception of the necessity and justice of diffusing knowledge among the labouring classes. And in every group of "the common people," thus compassionate and cared for, there was one, at least, whose self-culture and self-respect, nourished by democratic convictions, and excited by the great events enacting around, seemed to stretch forth open hands, on behalf of his fellows, to all who would aid them;—thus prefiguring that fusion of all classes into one true brotherhood, which we verily believe is nearer to-day, in 1850, than in 1815—as verily as we believe that the sun and earth have fulfilled through that interval their appointed journeys, if without haste, yet without pause.

W. W.



## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

## FRANCE.

The report brought up by M. Remusat, on the "extraordinary credit," recommended, as we stated in our last, "the credit," but also strict neutrality. That there is one direction in which the Conservative party would permit war to be made is clearly enough indicated, and as clearly that the present necessity of peace to the safety of absolutism is perceived. "War, in breaking out, might bring in its train evils still greater than those of war itself. The soil of Europe is still covered with fires only half extinguished. War might re-animate these. War might furnish with chances fatal theories, hopes, and passions. War is the last resource of subversive factions; it might shake, even to its foundations, European society; it might become only the provident signal of a social war. This thought ought to dominate all other thoughts in the mind of the cabinets of Europe, particularly of those which have nobly entered upon the way of wise reforms and serious progress. France, who desires neither the triumph of Absolutism nor the victory of Socialism—France, who has made within the last thirty years more than one heavy sacrifice to the peace of the world—has the right, to all appearance, to make heard pacific counsels which she may justify by her own example. Up to the last moment she will remind the rival powers of the great interests of civilization and humanity. If the voice of wisdom is not heeded, the last service which France can render is to contribute to diminish, perhaps, the misfortunes of war—to abridge, perhaps, its duration—by refusing loudly all support to the hopes of those parties who might promise themselves to engage her, sooner or later, in the quarrel; by contradicting beforehand all the illusions which may be formed or feigned as to the dispositions by which she is animated; by dissipating the doubts which might be spread as to her entire liberty of action. We have the will and the certainty of making order respected at home as we shall respect it abroad. In the midst of the disorder of a great war we could not suffer our frontier to be insulted. It is necessary that it should be known that every insolent provocation, every disturbing propaganda, should be severely punished."

The Assembly has been occupied with the question of providing baths and wash-houses for the people, and of placing the telegraphs at the public service. "All persons whose identity shall be established will be allowed to use the electric telegraph. The director of the telegraph may refuse despatches contrary to public order and morality, or affecting public security. The private telegraphic correspondence may be suspended by the government."

The French public have been absorbed by the morbid interest of a trial which has been proceeding for some days at the assizes of Angoulême, and has been reported in the English newspapers, under the head of "The Priesthood in France." The Abbé Gothland, it seems, formed an adulterous connexion with Madame du Selbon, the wife of a physician, which being detected by the Abbé's house-keeper, she was poisoned by him and Madame. After a long investigation, the jury found the Abbé "Guilty, with extenuating circumstances," and acquitted the female prisoner. The Abbé was sentenced to the galleys for life.

## GERMANY.

The important treaty of Olmutz has been at length made public by the Berlin press. The following are its leading conditions:—

1. The pacification of Holstein by Austrian troops will not take place. A Prussian and an Austrian commissioner will meet two commissioners appointed respectively by Denmark and Holstein for the purpose of effecting a peace between Denmark and the Duchies. The first principles of this peace are—that the authority of the Sovereign shall be restored; that Holstein shall remain part of the Germanic Confederation; and that Schleswig shall not be incorporated with Denmark, but on the contrary, it shall remain in its former union with Holstein. All other disputable points are left to the "Free Conferences." If the Stadtholders should refuse to make peace on these terms, Holstein will be occupied by a corps of Austrian troops, acting in the name, not of the Frankfurt Diet, but of Austria and Prussia.

2. The Hessian question will be settled by the evacuation of Hesse by both the Austrian and Prussian troops. It will be left to the Elector to come to terms with the Assembly of Estates, and thus to restore the legal state of his country. If an understanding cannot be effected in this way, the country will be occupied by Austrian troops acting as the Elector's auxiliaries (that is to say, not as Federal troops), in the same manner as Prussian forces at one time acted for the Grand Duke of Baden; and in this case the mediation will be undertaken by a Prussian and an Austrian commissioner.

3. In the question of the German Constitution it has been agreed that Austria and Prussia shall act on a footing of perfect equality. The Free Conferences will create a central organ, which is to be composed of the former votes of the lesser Confederation; and the federal pact shall be subjected to a revision. The executive power in this confederation will belong to Austria and Prussia alone. Austria reserves its declaration as to which of its provinces will enter this new confederation, in which there will be no popular representation. With respect to article 11th of the federal pact, which provides that for such purposes the assent of the central power shall be indispensable, the states will be authorized to form separate leagues.

4. All the German States are to take part in the Free Conferences, which will be opened at Dresden in the course of this very month.

5. The Prussian army, as well as the Federal troops, will for the present remain on a war footing.

6. The transactions of the Federal Diet will cease. The Federal Diet has no vote on any of the above questions.

Telegraphic reports from Berlin to the evening of the 4th instant stated, in scarcely more words than facts, that in his speech to Parliament Baron Manteuffel had declared that the objects of war were not to be purchased at the cost of fifty or sixty thousand lives in the first campaign; that the Lower House had assumed a hostile attitude, and been told by Baron Manteuffel, so long as the King upheld him he would not quit his position; that Baron Ladenberg, the remaining minister in favour of war, had resigned; and that the King had adjourned the Parliament till the 3rd of January, 1861. This step had made a profound impression, and created some apprehensions as to the tranquillity of the capital, which subsequent accounts show to have been groundless. The Chambers adjourned without any manifestation of feeling.

The latest news from Copenhagen is of the 1st inst. According to a rumour circulating in the capital at that date, and in which there is reason for believing, the King had resolved to separate from Madame Rasmussen, the mistress whom he lately married and ennobled. The motives which may have led to this resolution are but vaguely understood. Should it be realized, Madame Rasmussen will make the third legitimate wife from whom the King will have separated within a few years. The first was daughter of the late King, his uncle, Frederick VI.; the second a Mecklenburg princess; the third, as every one knows, was one of the ballet corps at the Copenhagen opera. As the price of this matrimonial rupture, the Countess Rasmussen is to receive an annuity of 12,000 dollars besides apanages.

The new sect of German Catholics, of which the pastor, John Ronge, was the apostle and founder, and which has set at naught all the rules of the hierarchy, and renounced allegiance to the Pope, is making great progress in Germany. After having been subjected to a thousand restrictions in the exercise of the rites of their worship, they are making numerous proselytes, founding schools for both sexes, and their pastors, for the most part men of the movement of 1848, are ardently preaching their doctrines to the population.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Cape Town journals to the 16th of October, report that the Government Board of Commission have also completed their draft of a constitution; the chief organic points of which had been determined on before the secession. The rival projects are thus compared by our contemporary the *Spectator*, with his usual devotion to colonial topics:—"The two drafts agree in giving a common qualification to the constituencies of the Assembly and Council; in making all electors competent to be elected into the Assembly; in giving payment to members of both houses; and in making all promotions to office a vacation of the seat. The Council-Commission admit, with reference to the higher property-qualification for the members of Council than for members of Assembly, that their own members were not unanimous, and that the sense of the colony has not yet been ascertained. They canvass the provision of her Majesty's letters-patent requiring that the Chief Justice should *ex officio* be President of the Council, and pronounce against it with almost popular independence; and they make some good remarks on their own position, in enforcement of the principle that all officers of the Government should be withdrawn from party contests, and be made entirely unpolitical—or, by converse implication, in favour of the principle that every portion of the legislative machine should be unclogged by official trammellings. On the difficult and delicate question of the civil list, in opposition to Lord Grey's proposition that 'a fixed (as contradistinguished from the unfixed) expenditure should, before the summoning of a Parliament, be provided for by law,' they offer their humble opinion that 'no permanent civil list should be reserved by law, but merely existing individual rights preserved; so that when this temporary arrangement shall gradually cease to operate, by offices successively becoming vacant, the entire colonial revenue should be subject, without exception, to the power of the [Colonial] Parliament.' They suggest that no bill for the appropriation of any part of the colonial revenue shall be passed by either Chamber, 'unless the Governor, on her Majesty's behalf, shall have first recommended to the Assembly to make provision for the specific purpose contemplated by the appropriation: a rule founded on the wholesome practice of the Imperial House of Commons.' In reference to the 'two platforms,' the *South African Commercial Advertiser* says, they differ on exactly such points as ought to be determined by the future Parliament itself; and it earnestly deprecates preliminary divisions of colonial opinion, as being the very means which would enable the Colonial Office to interfere now, and have its way. The *Cape Town Mail* says, the two plans differ only in details: either would afford all the means of obtaining complete self-government at some future day, and neither would give it at once.

## FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The restoration of the Porte St. Denis in Paris, which has been in progress for some time, is now complete. It has been thoroughly cleaned and repaired, and the sculpture of the Francois Augnier may now be seen in all its original freshness.

A lamentable disaster happened in the Vatican gallery during the late stormy weather, one of the most beautiful vases in the whole collection having been dashed into a thousand fragments. This vase, of extraordinary size, was the identical one containing the ashes of the sons of Germanicus, or, according to some antiquarians, of Augustus himself, which

was found in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Augustus.

The *Independence of Brussels* says:—"Mazzini has just passed through France, on his way to Switzerland. He had an English passport. He was preceded in his departure by several of his friends in London, but they did not dare to touch the French soil, and reached the Rhine by Belgium. The rendezvous was given in the environs of Bale. The refugees of the cantons of Geneva and Lausanne were to go there also."

The Neapolitan Government has prohibited the following works:—The "Cosmos" of Humboldt, the works of Schiller, Shakespeare, Molière, Lamartine, Thiers, Sismondi; besides Ovid, Lucian, Lucretius, and Sophocles.

A returned emigrant from the California trail on the prairies to St. Louis, says, that on the portion known as Carson's route, he counted 963 graves, and believes that at least 5,000 persons must have perished on the plains this year. He also counted 1,061 dead mules, 4,960 dead horses, and 3,760 dead oxen.

The existence of a third ring around Saturn, which has been some time suspected, has been positively ascertained by the astronomers at Cambridge, Mass. It is interior to the two others, and therefore at less distance from the planet.

An attempt was made upon the life of General Belza, President of Bolivia, on the 6th of September, while walking with Colonel Laguna, President of the Senate, Don Augustin Morales, and others, when a student named Sptomayer fired a pistol, which wounded Belza in the face. As he fell, another pistol was fired by Morales, but the ball only slightly grazed him. Some slight attempt at a revolution appears subsequently to have been made, but without success. The President of the Senate was implicated in the conspiracy, and condemned to be shot. The sentence was carried into effect on the 13th of September. Morales and Sotomayer have also been similarly sentenced.

The *Bulletin de Paris* says that the minister of the United States has received advices from his Government that some of the refugee Hungarian chiefs had demanded an asylum in the Union. The defender of Comorn and his companions in exile have definitively established themselves in the county of Iowa, where they have established a colony.

## "LA PRESSE" ON THE ANTI-PAPAL AGITATION.

It may be interesting to our readers to know how the topic of the day is viewed by the editor of *La Presse*. We copy, therefore, the following article from that paper:—

The agitation caused by the bull, which re-establishes in England the Catholic hierarchy, is far from growing calmer. On the contrary, the meetings are more numerous, and the discourses held in them more violent: the excitement of mind gives rise to conflict; and at Birkenhead, near Liverpool, there has been a collision, in which two were killed and several wounded. Thus after the lapse of two centuries, the two churches stand face to face, with the same rage in their hearts, ready to commence those excesses which history has recorded as a branding disgrace upon both.

Those who, with us, think that repressive laws are powerless against the fanaticism of a former age, and that liberty alone can triumph over it, must rejoice to see this struggle commencing between the violent of both sides. For this struggle gives the finishing stroke to State religions, which, indeed, are about the greatest abuses which have survived the various revolutions. A little ability and liberality on the part of the Anglicans might have saved them for some time longer; but the sects have all the same bandage upon their eyes, and march to destruction with the same blindness.

One day upon the market-place, Æsop was assaulted by a fool who kept throwing stones at his head. The fabulist, unmoved, gave some money to his attacker, and pointing out to him a judge who was passing by, "My friend," said he, "that is the man you should attack, he is rich, and can reward you far better than I can." The fool, convinced that in striking at higher game he should gain a richer prize, cast stones at the magistrate, who immediately ordered him to be whipped and thrown into prison. This is about the present conduct of the court of Rome. After she had sufficiently announced her pretensions with regard to Piedmont, she thought the time was come for a bolder stroke, and dared to attack England. If the Anglicans had been less blinded by a spirit of intolerance, they would have rejoiced at this ill-advised step, and said of their adversaries, as Cromwell did at the battle of Dunbar, "The Lord hath delivered our enemies into our hands."

It was, indeed, the time to see whether or not Rome could accommodate herself to modern freedom. The defenders of the Holy See often sneer at the *Popess* Victoria. We, who reject absolutely all State religion, must confess that not much can be said in reply. But still we find this admirable contrast: on the one hand, a young lady who personifies the principle of constitutional liberty—whose authority, grounded upon public opinion, has defied the shocks which for three years have shattered Europe, because she had beforehand, by wise reforms, conducted by her statesmen, found out an antidote to revolution; on the other hand, the representative of a power based upon the political and intellectual slavery of nations, whom a crisis has already carried away, and who is daily threatened with a second; who cannot live at Rome but by aid of foreign troops, and who, finding himself deserted by the world, has placed what remained to him of moral influence at the service of every oppressor. Hence, while Queen Victoria traverses her three kingdoms, accompanied only by her ladies of honour, the Italian newspapers tell us that Pius IX. never leaves the Vatican without an escort of French cavalry.

It must be that Anglicanism is very weak on the side of its ecclesiastical hierarchy, very feeble in its official position, to have replied by foolish violence and unworthy masquerades to the enemy's declaration of war.



The truth is, that its position is untenable, as involving at once nonsense and injustice. But here we must make an important distinction between the popular effervescence roused by the pontifical bull, and the fury which it has called forth on the part of the Anglicans.

When England irrevocably separated from Rome, it was less from religious antipathy than through national feeling. And even now, making allowance for official bigotry, the grand reproach instinctively made by the people against Cardinal Wiseman and his twelve bishops, is that of *being the subjects of a foreign prince*. For fifty years, the Liberal party, by its clubs, journals, and statesmen, has, day by day, demanded that the Catholics should be raised from the abject position into which the triumph of civil and religious liberty had cast them. Their efforts at last were successful, and a large majority of the people applauded the act of justice which placed the Catholics of England on a footing of complete equality with Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and all the innumerable sects who are protected by law in the exercise of their religion.

But this equality was not enough for the Catholics. So long as they needed the aid of Protestant reformers they made use of their influence. But when they thought themselves strong enough to walk alone, they repudiated the toleration which they so long had claimed, and casting aside the mask they have proved that what they really wanted was the re-establishment of their ancient supremacy. We are, said they, the subjects of the Pope, you must therefore admit us as ultra-montanists (that is, Papists), or not at all; and, as ultra-montanists, we recognise the Pope alone as the rightful spiritual governor of the three kingdoms. The Pope has done still more. In the bull whereby he re-establishes the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he speaks of the English people as of a nation plunged hitherto in religious barbarism. Thus outraging England in the revolution which caused its glory, its greatness, its independence, and which, at this very day, makes it the inviolable asylum of European liberty. The people whose flag ranges o'er the sea, and whose power is attested in every quarter of the globe, did not suppose that a government indebted to foreign troops for the very appearance of life, would seriously have dared to pretend that it could dictate to them any laws, religious or otherwise. Hence the effervescence caused by the manifestation of Papal absolutism.

But the emotion of the State Church is far from having the same excuse. There we observe only a sectarian rivalry, a mere question of—*shop*. In the contemptuous orations which they have put forth for more than a month, and which fill the daily papers, the chiefs of Anglicanism pretend that they, much better than Rome, represent the primitive and apostolic church—the true Catholic Church. This assumption of orthodoxy, which goes back to the early days of the Reformation, has thrown Anglicanism into the same excesses as those with which it charges its enemies. It has been intolerant and persecuting. It has raised scaffolds as well as the Inquisition; it has covered Ireland with blood; and there is not a single sect among the Dissenters which has not crimes to lay to its charge.

The reform accomplished in the sixteenth century was a great and glorious revolution, because, in spite of the horrible excesses which defiled it, there resulted civil liberty and freedom of conscience. Anglicanism, then, in creating a hierarchy of bishops, after having repudiated the authority of the Pope, was guilty of an anomaly. The establishment of a religious authority on the morrow of a revolution made in the name of free inquiry, was an inconsequence and a usurpation which must be repudiated equally by the Catholics who remained faithful, and by the free inquirers. And this, in fact, took place.

Hundreds of sects have been formed outside this arbitrary supremacy; and the anarchy which now devours Anglicanism is such, that on the day when it loses its official position, and the immense riches derived from confiscations of property belonging to the Romish Church, it will cease to exist even in name.

The want of respect into which the Anglican Church has fallen cannot be greater or more deserved than it is. This church is nothing else than a clerical aristocracy, monopolizing all ecclesiastical benefices, of some great families, and rich landowners. Bishops and rectors are appointed with regard to political motives, or motives of convenience, without much respect to talent, virtue, or fitness. We may suppose, then, how ministers so recruited fulfil their evangelical mission. Except on Sunday, when from custom they mount the pulpit, and deliver mechanically an icy discourse without soul and without faith, these grand seigneurs, these creatures of the Lord Chancellor, never see their parishioners. They would fear contamination from such relations, and would dread to compromise, by contact with misery and suffering, the immaculate whiteness of their gloves. Hence, between them and the people a divorce has irrevocably taken place, and the State Church preserves a remnant of power only by its immense riches, and its incarnation in the chief of the State.

Like the Methodists, the Quakers, the Baptists, and other Dissenters, the Catholics also have profited by the discredit of Anglicanism. But now, as ever, the Court of Rome has compromised all by the extravagance of its pretensions. While it lived in silence, and contented itself with the liberty guaranteed by law, its adherents increased, and it gained ground upon the State Church. Pius the Ninth was for a while popular in England, as in the rest of Europe; and it was not impossible that a large number of religious minds, through opposition to the Rationalism of Germany, might come to recognise in the Pope the representative of a Church founded upon authority. The most ordinary common-sense, therefore, prescribed, that in his relations with England Pius should have doubled his reserve and moderation. He has done the very contrary.

Yielding to the advice of some ambitious prelates, who were wearied, no doubt, by too humble a position, and wished to show themselves openly with mitre and crozier, he has parcelled out among his bishops the freest country in Europe, and launched a bull which has awakened odious prejudices long put aside, as one would have thought, by a sentiment of justice. In his able manifesto, Cardinal Wiseman has denounced, with reason, the furious inconsistency of liberals and sectaries who outrage his faith and independence, but in reality the blow is struck. The wolf may try to put on the lamb's fleece, but all the world has seen his claws and his teeth. The apparition of the *old Italian priest* has cured, for a long time, of their Catholic whims, the melancholic doctors of Oxford, the vapoury Puseyites, and all amateur

semi-Papists of the High Church. England has become, as in the time of Elizabeth, the irreconcilable enemy of Rome, and there is not a sect among the Dissenters which does not partake in this animosity.

In Germany, Switzerland, and in the North, the Protestant churches have assumed, or have a tendency to assume, a republican organization. The Romish Church, on the contrary, obstinately claims the exercise of absolute power. The mind wishes to enjoy independence, and all State religions presume to subject it to the demands of their hierarchy, and to impose upon it the decisions of their authority. Between tendencies so opposite there is no possible reconciliation.

Religion will always have an immense influence upon society; but if it means to guide society, it must be something else than an old piece of mechanism, immutable in its forms and its conduct.

State religions, Anglican, Roman, or otherwise, with their aristocracy of cardinals and bishops, of Pope and Popess, have had their time. The excesses which they have committed have produced indifference and infidelity which threaten them with ruin. They can avoid it only by giving up all temporal dominion, and devoting themselves to the guidance of souls.

To do this they must shake off the dust of the middle ages—they must alter their barbarous jurisprudence, and identify themselves with modern society.

At all events there is one way to put an end to intolerable abuses, and that is to adopt the American system; namely, to suppress all State-churches, and to place all sects upon the same level, in a sort of religious republic.

A. PEYRAT.

#### LAW, POLICE, ASSIZE, &c.

**THE PRIVILEGES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.**—In the Cambridge Borough Police Court, yesterday week, a case came on for hearing, founded upon a warrant of assault granted to Miss Emma Thompson, daughter of a respectable cowkeeper, residing in Thompson's-lane, Cambridge, against the Rev. J. Fenwick, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, and proctor of the University of Cambridge, and two of his attendants (or "bull-dogs"). The assault charged consisted in Mr. Fenwick having stopped the complainant, and having consigned her to the charge of his men. The court was most densely crowded throughout the whole proceedings by the townspeople and undergraduates, and at times the ebullition of feeling was such that the bench had great difficulty in preserving order. It is not at all improbable that this case will lead to some important results as affecting the privileges of the University, or at least to a definition of the duties of the proctors in the exercise of their ungracious office, "the apprehension of lewd women." It was admitted on all hands that the character of Miss Thompson is most irreproachable. Some one coming up who recognised the young woman, she was allowed to go home, having been a few minutes in charge of the proctor's men. Mr. Fenwick claimed to have the matter inquired into before the Court of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University, and protested against the jurisdiction of the borough magistrates; but the clerk to the justice (Mr. Eden) said this proceeding was under an act (9 Geo. IV. c. 31), which contained no saving clause reserving the privileges of the University. The protest, therefore, was of no avail. When the evidence was concluded, the magistrates retired for a few minutes, and on their return, the deputy-mayor said that the magistrates found that the assault was proved, and had determined to fine John Fenwick £1, Robert Boning 10s., and John Robinson 10s., and the expenses, or in default of payment, each to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The announcement of the decision appeared to give great satisfaction to the dense crowd of townspeople who had squeezed themselves into the court. The fine was paid, on arrest, and with the understanding that the "privilege" claimed would be further defended.

**ATROCIOUS CRUELTY.**—A case of disgusting barbarity was brought before the magistrates at Guildhall, by Mr. Phillimore, the well-known civilian, on Monday. The accused is Mr. George Sloane, a special pleader, of 5, Pump-court, Temple; charged with having starved and ill-treated his female servant, Jane Wilbred, 17 years of age. Occupying the same chambers with the defendant, Mr. Phillimore's attention was called by his clerk to the wretched emaciated condition of the defendant's servant—he, with his wife and a young lady, making the Temple their residence. The girl was sent by the parties interfering to the hospital, on the advice of Dr. Marsden, whose evidence was to the following effect:—

It was a case resulting entirely from want of food [great sensation]. Such must have been the case for many months, otherwise the girl never could have been in such an attenuated and low condition as she was when I first saw her. I am quite satisfied that, if it had not been for the interference of Mr. Phillimore and Mr. Fry, she must have died. She could not have existed in that state many days longer [great sensation]. It was entirely owing to want of food and warmth. There were marks of violence on various parts of her body, particularly about the neck and shoulders. They had not been inflicted by anything very hard, such as a stick, for if that had been used the bones must have been broken, as there was nothing to interpose between the skin and bone [sensation]. I have been in the constant habit, during the last 20 years, of seeing cases of extreme distress, in many of which the persons have died in a few hours after their admission into the hospital, but I never saw a case at all approaching the appearance presented by that girl. I could not have believed a person could be so reduced and live. She was, certainly, the most perfect living skeleton I had ever seen in the course of my life.

Alderman Humphery said it would be necessary that the girl should be brought forward. Two of the officers of the Court accordingly went out, and returned carrying a chair, on which the girl was placed. A deep groan seemed to break from every person involuntarily. She was placed in an easy chair, and supported on pillows, and during the whole course of her examination it was almost im-

possible to perceive that she was living, but for the motion of her eyes and lips. She was placed by the side of the presiding Alderman, who had to put his ear close to her mouth to catch her feeble accents, which she uttered with great difficulty, and at long intervals. The poor creature deposed not only to severe and frequent beatings by Mrs. Sloane, and systematic starvation, but acts of motiveless barbarity too disgusting to be mentioned. She had been in the West Union Workhouse, and left there for Mr. Sloane's service. When Mr. Clarkson, who appeared for the defence, rose to cross-examine, and said, "When did Mr. Sloane beat you?" It was not till after a long interval, the witness whispered to the alderman, "Mr. Sloane beat me about a month ago." She then appeared to fall asleep, and became perfectly unconscious. Dr. Marsden rose and said, "The cross-examination must be instantly discontinued, as in the present condition of the girl she cannot possibly sustain it any longer." Mr. Clarkson would willingly forbear putting any further questions in the present state of the unfortunate witness. He believed that when the case came to be further investigated it would present a different aspect from that which it now appeared to wear. His client was willing that every inquiry should be made. Alderman Humphery (with emphasis)—There shall indeed be another inquiry, and Mrs. Sloane must also appear to answer this serious charge. In answer to a question as to whether he would take bail, the Alderman said he could not at that moment determine. It was not improbable (though he hoped that such would not be the case) but that the unfortunate girl might die in the interim. Bail was, however, ultimately accepted, and Mr. Sloane was bound over, himself in £200, and two sureties of £100 each, to appear and answer the charge next week.

**TWO WAYS OF DEALING WITH DECAYED INSTITUTIONS.**—In dealing with ancient institutions which appear to have lost their efficacy, there are two courses. The narrow-minded, the men of mere practical understanding, without imagination to call up those manifold relations which lie beyond the span of the understanding—they who see one thing clearly and distinctly, and who straightway conclude that it is the only thing to be seen, who walk between two high walls, and suppose that the whole world is included between them—they who have no reverence for antiquity, no faith in a higher spirit guiding and shaping the actions of men, and pervading their institutions—they who trust in their own wisdom and in their own wills, and who desire to see that wisdom and that will reflected in every thing around them—will destroy the decayed institution as worthless, to set up some creation of their own in its stead. They, on the other hand, who have learned to distrust their own wisdom, and to suspect their will—who have discovered the limits of their faculties, and how narrow they are—who have perceived how far the largest part of what is valuable in their minds is owing to the unnoticed influences of the thoughts, and principles, and institutions amidst which they have grown up—they who have discerned that in nations also, as in other bodies corporate, there is a kind of instinct whereby they seek and assimilate what is suitable and healthful, rejecting what is noxious—who have discerned that in nations also "the child is the father of the man," and that the only sure progress of national life lies in expansion and transfiguration, not in transmigration—will always be anxious to preserve the institutions which their fathers have left them; not, however, in their worn-out dilapidated state, but restored completeness and vigour, with a new spirit of life kindled in them.—*Julius Hare.*

**THE NEW "JACK SHEPPARD."**—The convict who broke out of the Model Prison, on the evening of Sunday se'nnight, while supposed to be in chapel, has addressed the following note to the Governor: "Monday, Dec. 2, 1850.—George Hacket presents his compts. to the Governor of the Model Prison, Pentonville; and begs to apprise him of his happy escape from the gaol. He is in excellent spirits, and can assure the Governor that it will be useless for his men to pursue him: that he is quite safe, and in a few days intends to proceed to the Continent to recruit his health."

**MR. HUME AT SOUTHAMPTON.**—On Monday se'nnight, a grand banquet was given by the friends of Radical reform in this borough to Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P. Mr. Hume delivered a long speech, and ran over the forty years' history of his political life. He reminded them of being the first Radical reformer of his time now living, and that he had remained consistent to his principles from that period to the present, nor would he cease his exertions in that cause while life and health were spared to him. He told those assembled what he had done, and what he had failed in doing, and concluded by declaring, that he was the same firm supporter of reform he ever had been.

**INCREASE OF THE FANCY HOSIERY TRADE OF LEICESTER.**—The other day one of our fellow-townsmen (by no means an old man) was talking with us on the increase of the manufactures of this town and district, and especially of the opening up of new branches within the last few years. "Why," he observed, "it seems but as the other day, since 'Harris and Sons' was the only firm in the fancy trade; now there are from thirty to forty firms all in the fancy trade, while the parent firm (Messrs. Harris's) are going to enlarge their new warehouse by about one-half." Seeing that a large portion of this increased trade has arisen since free-trade in food became in the ascendant, it does not appear that the prospects of Leicester are very discouraging.—*Leicester Mercury.*



## LITERATURE.

## THE PERIODICALS (DECEMBER).

The appearance of this month's magazines reminds us that the year is well nigh run out. Editors congratulate themselves on the fact, and with becoming thankfulness and humility, acknowledge their indebtedness to a gracious public, and vow afresh their determination to excel all past performances in those for which they woefully seek a similar reward. Happy editors who wear the laurels they have fairly won, and happy public thus to be hailed as the "very noble and approved good masters" of so versatile and skilled a literary corps.

Falling in with the fashion of the time, which subordinates all other matters to one master topic, we propose turning a little out of our ordinary way, and running through the monthlies, just in search of their deliverances on the policy of the Pope. Unlike their daily and hebdomadal contemporaries, necessity has not been laid upon them to pronounce "in hot haste," and we think we discern, in their more subdued tone, the advantage resulting from a month's rumination.

Even BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, though it speaks out in unmistakable terms, is not indisposed to have a little merriment over the affair, and especially at that "noble" letter-writer Lord John, upon whose contemptuous scorn of the Papacy it offers this cool comment:—

"All this is what Dominie Sampson would have pronounced 'pro-digious!' . . . It was obviously unfortunate that his zeal had been kindled so late, there being no imaginable doubt that the Pope had marked out Westminster for the See of his new Archbishop several years ago. And it is clear that the appointment of one Archbishop would have been as great an encroachment as the fixture of fifty. The principle was there, and it would evidently be prolific. Yet not a syllable of remonstrance had transpired. Wisdom was silent in the streets, and precaution slumbered within the Cabinet curtains. Whitehall was as quiet as Lambeth, and Lambeth, of course, was Letha. No minister hurried to the palace, with pallid lips and faltering nerves, like him who

"Drew Priam's curtain at the dead of night,  
Tottell him Troy was burned."

But the Dean and Chapter of Westminster had actually attempted to break the slumber, by an address deprecating the appointment as utterly unconstitutional. This occurred in 1848. It was heard of no more, and silence came again."

What should be done, our ebony friend saith not; but we are assured that "the time is at hand for a great restoration to the principles of England"—a very comforting prediction, no doubt, to those who know what that means.

The ECLECTIC Reviewer of course looks at the question from a somewhat different point of view, and regarding the appearance of the Pope's bull as a crisis precipitated by "the gradual approach to the Romish creed and ritual" which has "characterised the recent history of the Anglican Church" thus satirizes the disturbed culprits:—

"The splash with which the wooden king made his advent among the frogs, occasioned no turmoil comparable to that which this unexpected measure has created among the great body of the clergy, and a portion of the laity, of the Anglican Church. Indeed, the present position of the clergy appears to us to be humiliating beyond all precedent, and the conduct to which they are driven in their panic to be proportionately undignified and ridiculous. On the first rumour of the rival hierarchy the more prominent dignitaries of the Church betook themselves to their stalls, and there, like ruminant animals, diligently employed themselves in eating the words of former charges, sermons, and pastoral letters. The spectacle is truly a painful one; and the laborious mastication and spasmodic deglutition, especially where, as in the case of the Bishop of London, there are cartilaginous passages to be disposed of, must be distressing to every humane mind, whose sympathies extend beyond his own grade in the creation. Meanwhile the inferior clergy flock together like sheep in a thunderstorm, each clamorously protesting against the Popish heresies, which none have lately propagated with very contagious zeal, save his own brethren, and perchance himself. In every diocese solemn addresses and elaborate replies are daily passing between the clerical Peachum and the episcopal Locket; and, what is most extraordinary, without the remotest approach to the admission in the play, 'Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong.'"

Of the Appeal of Dr. Wiseman in contrast with his pastoral address, he thus writes:—

"Subsequently, however, Cardinal Wiseman has found it expedient to lower this arrogant tone, and having allowed time to both the secular and the spiritual aristocracy to exhale all their bigotry, and to commit themselves to the grossest absurdities, he has published an appeal to the British people, in which he has submitted them to the most merciless and mortifying exposure.

The entire Appeal, which we have thus epitomized, we may fairly designate as a masterpiece of controversial exposition, and, as against the Protestant hierarchy, absolutely triumphant."

The course proper to be pursued by Dissenters is briefly disposed of. The writer dissents from those who regard the event as unimportant, though it is the spread of Romanism as a religious system which is the object of his concern. But he urges upon Dissenters to refrain from "hounding down their Catholic fellow-subjects to the rabid cry of 'No Popery,' especially remembering the suspicious quarter in which it is raised—and still

more from calling for legislative interference" in an ecclesiastical dispute.

"This would, indeed, be to surrender the whole ground on which we as Nonconformists must take our stand; namely, that the Legislature has no rightful power to interfere with the subject in spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns. Hence we view with great regret that hasty and ill-judged letter of Lord John Russell to the Bishop of Durham, by which he has purchased a sudden, and we imagine a very transient, mob popularity. His lordship greatly mistakes the temper of the age if he thinks that the British people will permit any Government to take a retrograde step towards religious persecution; and if, in an unguarded and ill-omened hour, the Dissenters of Great Britain should lend their influence, even by a silent neutrality, to the enactment of a restrictive statute against their Catholic fellow-countrymen, they will be forging the fetters and twisting the scourges for their own future degradation and torture."

The moral of the whole is tersely given in the closing sentences.

"Fellow-countrymen, if you would escape the pestilence, destroy in time the nidus that harbours the contagion. The way to exterminate tigers, is to burn the jungle."

The EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE is earnest in its denunciations of Popery and its exhortations to resistance; but if, in the absence of explicit statement, we understand aright, would rely on moral means, and not on legislative enactments.

The editor of the BAPTIST MAGAZINE, writing in a calmer strain, reads the Dissenting public what we deem to be this judicious homily:—

"In issuing this decree, the Pope has only acted as popes have been accustomed to act for more than twelve centuries, taking advantage of every opportunity to extend their dominion, renewing as promptly as practicable every claim which circumstances had compelled them to suspend, and exalting themselves above all power, human or divine. The direct results of this measure are not, however, what we have most to fear, but the consequences which will accrue from the manner in which it has been received. Courses have been adopted already, under the influence of ardent feeling, which no considerate friend of truth will attempt to justify. Measures may perhaps be proposed, and carried through the Legislature, which will greatly restrict our own freedom of worship and action. Some timid Dissenters may incautiously seek refuge in the royal supremacy, and strengthen that union between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers from which our fathers and ourselves have severely suffered. But most of all we dread the effects of that reaction which the character of the existing excitement ensures. Nothing injures a good cause so much as to endeavour to promote it by unjustifiable means, and nothing tends so much to render a bad cause popular as to treat its advocates with undue harshness. Thousands who are now most alarmed and indignant, will soon find that their present impressions are in some respects incorrect, and they will be led to suppose that their fear of Papal machinations was altogether unfounded. Many will learn that they have been misinformed respecting some alleged facts, about which they now dogmatize fiercely, and they will then begin to regard the Romanists as victims of calumny and oppression. One step further, and the objects of vanquished prejudice will appear to them to be innocent, amiable, and worthy of admiration. It is easy to see, that the classes now most vociferous in their outcry against Popery and Puseyism are in a high state of preparedness for the reception of Romish doctrine. The grievous ignorance of what Popery really is, which is now prevalent, and which has been prevalent the last thirty years, is that which imparts to the present crisis its most formidable aspect. We cannot suppress our apprehension, that multitudes of Dissenters are as little fitted for the trying scenes into which they are about to enter as their neighbours who boast of attachment to the Established Church."

THE CHURCH (also Baptist) thinks the Pope's procedure "only an almost ludicrous exhibition of Papal infatuation and folly," and "admirably well-timed to disgust all the sensible part of the nation with Popery itself." It admits the right of the Pope to act as he has done:—

"As to our Prime Minister, we are glad to see the Government and some of the Chief Priests at variance. Would that the contest might become so hot between them, that they might part asunder the one from the other. Their union we regard as infinitely more dangerous to the interests of true religion itself, and far more destructive of civil and religious liberty, than all the 'foreign' Pope can do. Pope John Russell, in his simplicity, appears to forget that one-half of his countrymen consider him to be as impious an intruder on the rights of Christ's Church, in assuming its vice-headship under Queen Victoria, as the Pope can possibly be in his judgment. Of the two sets of Popes our chief fear is from the Premier-Popes."

The PRIMITIVE CHURCH MAGAZINE, the organ of another section of the Baptist body (Strict Baptist) is equally decided in its views:—

"With respect to the way in which it behoves us, as Protestant Dissenters, to carry on our conflict with Rome, we can only recommend moral and spiritual means. The ecclesiastical and political are so mixed up, both in our own constitution and that of Rome, as to make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Dissenters to take action in this matter. . . . The treatment which Mr. Edward Miall, the consistent and able advocate of our principles, received at a public meeting at Islington, recently, was a significant fact, as it regards the spirit and aims of these gentlemen."

THE WESLEYAN REVIEW would seem to have been inspired by the spirit of contradiction, now so rife. While unsparing of its scorn in referring to "certain infatuated Dissenters" and "long-headed gentlemen," of whom "we are quite ashamed"—besides being sorry "for their obtuseness," it yet replies to the query, What are we to do in resistance to the aggression of the Papacy? in these satisfactory terms:—

"We apprehend that our principles must compel us to keep within the limits of our moral means. The members of the Church of England may consistently address the Crown or the Legislature, and call on them to vindicate the Protestant people of this realm against the insults of Rome. We must take occasion, from these circumstances, only to protest more strongly than ever against ecclesiastical tyranny in all its forms. Priestly arrogance must be humbled; for, since we have seen it nearer home, bidding defiance to all law and justice, and working out its own ends reckless of all the interests of the Church of Christ, it is certain that priestly power is the same detested, intolerable thing that it ever was.

In the meantime our work is patient, and, if need be, suffering, testimony. We are not to fight, even against worldly systems, with carnal weapons. Our weapon is the sword of the Spirit, wielded with faith, prayerfulness, and courage."

There is, however, another reference to the subject in the "Review of the Month," and, we suppose, by another writer, for instead of approving of the attempt to "take occasion, from these circumstances, only to protest more strongly than ever against ecclesiastical tyranny in all its forms," he thus writes:—

"In some few instances a portion of our Nonconforming brethren have deemed it right to introduce amendments expressive of hostility to hierarchical establishments generally. This course of procedure we deem unwise and uncalled for, under the circumstances, when it is desirable to unite the Protestantism of the country against the aggressions of Rome. It would be better to subordinate, for the present, their opinions on the subject of State-churchism, as we are persuaded that the determined hostility of the public against the Roman invasion must eventually lead to a modification, if not an entire reform, of the system to which they are conscientiously, and, we think, with unanswerable reason, opposed."

But what are we to think of the complacent allusion which is made to the various public meetings which have been held, the result of which will "doubtless be to induce the Government to introduce some measure which will put a stop to the attempt of the Pope to secure political and territorial influence in this country?" Is this the keeping "within the limits of our moral means," and the patient and suffering "testimony" which are insisted upon in the very opposite page?

THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER (Unitarian) does not apparently attach great practical importance to the matter. The bull is regarded as both a blunder and an impropriety not to be justified. The Bishop of London's share in the movement excites the writer's "disgust":—

"Instead of combating the Church of Rome with the Protestant weapon of the right of private judgment, this wary Metropolitan contents himself with setting up the Church of England as superior to that of Rome, and conjures his clergy to eschew German theology and 'the fatal heresy' of Rationalism, and to practise 'a sedulous inculcation of the doctrines' of the Church, and 'a firm adherence to its Creeds, and Liturgy, and Articles.' Sham Protestantism of this kind is not to be trusted in the encounter which we are on the eve of witnessing. It is not by substituting the Queen's supremacy for that of the Pontiff of Rome, and by playing off the Convocation of the Clergy against the Pope's assumed infallibility, that Popish aggression is to be withstood."

Any attempt to re-enact penal laws will, it is predicted, certainly fail:—

"Happily, we have a Premier, who, however he may represent an insult to his Sovereign, will never forget or violate the immutable and impartial principle of religious liberty, and a House of Commons who will not consent to undo the work of the last quarter of a century for the sake of achieving a temporary popularity. For ourselves, we think the fever has been suffered to reach a somewhat unreasonable height, and that many now under its influence will presently think so too. With a free press, popular institutions, and a population certainly growing in intelligence, we can well afford to smile at the utmost efforts of open Romanism to bring the mind of this country again under its sway."

From THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE we learn the views of one section of Scottish Dissent. Our friends across the Tweed are naturally influenced in their judgment by the character of their ecclesiastical relationships:—

"We have in Scotland a religious body, howbeit one of the least of the tribes of Israel amongst us, which has continued for years to arrogate to itself the name of the Church in Scotland, ignoring the existence of the Church which our law establishes; and, indeed, of all other churches save the Romish, denying the validity of our Christian ordinances, and parceling out our land into dioceses, within which their 'lord bishops' claim to be the exclusive ecclesiastical authority. We have presbyteries, too, and parish ministers, who assume the oversight of all the schools in their bounds, and hold themselves entitled to visit, as the only properly constituted overseers, the families in their parish—even, we presume, the families of lord bishops themselves. In all this we see a pretension to supremacy, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, inconsistent with the spiritual independence of the nation; yet we seldom grow indignant at it."

Another magazine connected with the same body—THE CHRISTIAN JOURNAL—thus writes, in the person of its London correspondent:—

"Were there no State Church at all, England would have nothing to fear from Popery; an endowed Protestantism is a greater evil to a nation than an undowered Popery; therefore, whilst we seek to get rid of the one, let us not bolster up the other. Nonconformists ought to be true to their own principles. Let them oppose Romanism as they would any other evil, on clear and intelligible grounds, and not only Romish Popery but English Popery also. If the Established clergy desire the assistance of Dissenters in this the hour of their need, the least they can do is to cease to rob them. Let church-rates be abolished, and all compulsory sup-



port come to a perpetual end. We must not be caught by coaxing. The clergy are very free with their smooth phrases just now. 'Our Dissenting brethren,' say some; 'sound churchmanship does not consist in crying down Dissent,' says another; and yet these very men, under other circumstances, would crush and denounce us all as 'schismatics,' and even now they pray to be 'delivered' from us as such every Sabbath morning. The fight at present is almost exclusively between two hierarchies about powers and privileges which belong to neither; and it will be well if the result justify the old proverb, that 'when rogues disagree, honest men come by their own.'

The writer, however, does not counsel neutrality in the contest with Romanism.

The FREE CHURCH MAGAZINE cordially agrees with a large portion of "the high-toned indignation of England," but has no sympathy with the clerical character of the agitation:—

"When men clamour in defence of what is distinctly unscriptural—the spiritual supremacy of the Crown over Christ's Church—that is neither more nor less than meeting Popery with a Papal argument; and such a method of defence the system can easily repel. Or, if it is merely because prelates are insulted, or the Church in danger, that the nation waxed vehement, and clamours against the aggressor, that also is opposing Popery with a portion of itself, and neither can the issue of that opposition be doubtful."

The Bishop of London comes in for a special share of this censure:—

"Not the truth—not the pure Protestant doctrine—but Dr. Blomfield's own position as an ecclesiastic—it was that which brought him into the field; and when he entered it, his previous character as a professedly Protestant bishop, had made him feeble or worthless as a defender of the truth. Mincing ambiguities are not weapons with which to assail the system of the son of perdition at any time, especially in times like ours; and if the cause of civil and religious liberty have no bolder or better friend than Bishop Blomfield, it is not difficult to foretell the result of his endeavours. Dr. Doyle's prediction will soon be verified—there will be no Archbishop of Canterbury."

The writer has no doubt as to the ultimate fate of Popery, but meanwhile waits "to see whether the controversy is to assume a scriptural character, and in that character to be triumphant, or merely a political and sectarian one, and in that case to sink into the earth out of which it arose."

Lastly, we have the sentiments of the Quakers, in the columns of the FRIEND, in which there is an expression of satisfaction at the anti Papal feeling which has been evoked, but none of concern at the act which has elicited it:—

"The Papal bull, taken in connexion with the Cardinal's address, exhibit, it is true, no abatement, much less a renunciation of the ancient claims of the Romish See, yet we think it would be easy to show, that under the altered régime, she will possess no new political power in this country, and will be no better able to subject even her own disciples to the tyranny of her ecclesiastical laws, against their own consent, and contrary to the spirit of the British constitution. With those who are already Romanists in heart, she may possibly acquire a higher degree of respectability, and a larger claim on their submission, but as it regards these, it were far preferable that they should become open seceders, than remain Papists in disguise. Protestantism, so far as it is pure Christianity, will lose no argument in its favour—so far as it consists in the right of private judgment, and the enjoyment of individual liberty, it will not be really invaded."

The union of Dissenters with Churchmen, in asserting the royal supremacy, is condemned as "a virtual abnegation of principle, bringing discredit on conscientious Nonconformity, and effecting no practical good in regard to the evils of Popery," as well as opening the door for the passing of persecuting enactments. The article closes thus:—

"The events of the past month have renewed our conviction that the only political remedy for the present evil is the separation of the Church from the State, and the speedy introduction of equal laws for all, of whatever creed—and that the surest method of opposing an aggression on the spiritual privileges of man, will be found, not in running for shelter under the wing of royal prerogatives, and of Parliamentary enactments, but in uniting, as far as it is possible, with unsectarian zeal, to instruct the ignorant, and to make known among our heathen population, both by living and preaching, the unsearchable riches of Christ."

*The Theory of Human Progression, and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice.* London: Johnstone and Hunter.

THIS title was not immediately attractive to us. It has been our misfortune to meet with so much baseless theorizing, eccentric speculation, and empty rhodomontade on "human progression," that we suffered an aversion to the theme, almost amounting to horror, to deter us long from an attack on this volume; but when, unable any longer to delay a notice of a book which had been a good while on our table, we began somewhat distrustfully to read it, we found at once that our uneasy fears were most unjust, and our hesitation a wrong to ourselves and our readers. Every step in perusal rendered it certain that the work was of an importance not to be estimated by a partial examination; and that a fair decision on its merits must be no hasty judgment. We have, therefore, rendered ourselves thoroughly familiar with its contents, having given to many parts a repeated perusal; and we are fully satisfied that the opinion we now express will be affirmed by every competent critic—that it is the most profound and original contribution to a science of politics that has been furnished by any recent writer.

We do not hope to give a very complete or satisfactory view of an investigation in which multiplicity of details is inseparable from the argument, and clear knowledge of several groups of reasonings essential to the intelligibility of the conclusions. But we believe that an account of the outline of the treatise will be generally acceptable, and will commend it to the earnest study of many readers. The quotations we give will further exhibit the philosophical character of the work, and the crystal purity and transparency of the author's style.

The author defines *Politics* as "the science of *Equity*, and treats of the *relations of men in equity*:" to obliterate all unequitable action of men, singly or in bodies, towards each other, is, therefore, its practical ultimatum; and it professes to develop the *laws* by which human actions ought to be regulated, in so far as men *interfere* with each other. But human actions may be viewed under various distinct aspects—e.g. killing a man may be regarded in its *physiological* aspect, an injury causing the cessation of his functions—in its *economical* aspect, the destruction of a mechanism which possessed so much *value*—in its *political* aspect, as a crime, or duty, or neither—in its *religious* aspect, as a sin or otherwise. The position of *Politics* is thus seen to be—"posterior to political economy, and anterior to religion. It *superadds* a new concept to economics, and religion again adds a new concept to politics. Political economy can in no respect be allowed to discourse of *duty*, nor can politics be allowed to discourse of *sin*."

In every branch of knowledge the first question is its *method*. The following extract on this head will do much to give the reader the outline of the inquiry:—

"The question is, 'Is there any possibility of discovering or evolving a natural theory which is not arbitrary?' Is there in the question of man's political relation to man, a truth and a falsity, as independent of man's opinion as are the truths of geometry or astronomy? A truth there must be somewhere, and in the present volume we attempt to exhibit the probability of its evolution."

"Our argument is based on the theory of progress, or the fact of a progress; for it is a fact as well as a theory. And the theory of progress is based on the principle, that there is an order in which man not only *does* evolve the various branches of knowledge, but an order in which man *must necessarily* evolve the various branches of knowledge. And this necessity is based on the principle, that every science, when undergoing its process of discovery, is *objective*, that is, the object of contemplation; but when discovered and reduced to ordination it becomes *subjective*, that is, a means of operation for the discovery and evolution of the science that lies logically beyond it, and next to it in logical proximity."

"If this logical dependence of one science on another could be clearly made out for the whole realm of knowledge, it would give the outline, not only of the classification of the sciences, but of man's intellectual history—of man's intellectual development—where the word development means, not the alteration of man's nature, but the extension of his knowledge, and the consequent improvement of his mode of action, entailing with it the improvement of his condition."

"And if the law of this intellectual development can be made out for the branches of knowledge which have already been reduced to ordination, it may be carried into the future, and the future progress of mankind may be seen to evolve logically out of the past progress."

"Let us then consider the aspects in which a science of politics may be viewed:—

"1. In the probability of its evolution, based on the logical determination of its position in a scheme of classification."

"2. In its constituent propositions, and the method it employs for their substantiation."

"3. In the history of its doctrine (not the history of its books)—in the history of the past reduction of its theoretic principles to practice, and in the application of its principles to the present condition of society; thereby attempting to estimate what changes ought to be made, and what, in fact, ought to be the one definite form of political society."

The present volume treats only of the *first* of these divisions, but we very strongly desire to see it followed by a discussion of the second and third; by which the author would complete the first comprehensive and truly scientific work on politics in our language.—After the above preliminary matter, the author enters on the matters involved in political science. Its categories are *liberty* and *property*; under these may be discussed all the relations of men in equity. The essence of liberty is *non-interference*; to secure this universally is the first end of all political association. This leads to a consideration of the mode in which men have made laws. Laws have not been directed only to the prohibition of actions naturally *crimes*, but have *created* crimes by the despotism of false law. Thus, *unlimited* legislation, or legislation out of its sphere, has *made* crimes by laws against free international exchange of produce—the taking of game—manufacture of certain articles liable to excise—and against Thought, religious credence—of which latter unjust and persecuting law-making, "the last remnant is now found in the taxation of Nonconformists; and church-rates are the last representative of that system of legislation that lit the fires of Smithfield, and sent Claverhouse and his dragoons to murder the hill-side peasant, and to torture the differently thinking Presbyterian."

To reduce the powers of the government and the laws of the country within the bounds of equity—in other words, the evolution of liberty and justice—demands a progress of mankind from ignorance,

error, and superstition, towards knowledge—a combination of knowledge and reason—of credence based on sufficient evidence, and the power of perceiving consequences and inferring antecedents. Not that *men* are to combine knowledge and reason, but that the unprivileged classes must combine together on the same knowledge, and on the same principles that they have rationally deduced from that knowledge. All great changes in the political condition of a people must be preceded by changes in the theoretic credence of the people; and the progress of political society from prescriptive privilege and the arbitrary will of the legislator, to a condition of absolute freedom and justice (and this is the ultimate end to which all civilized societies *must* progress) is strictly proportioned to the progress made in *correct knowledge*, as the essential of correct action by which man works out his political well-being. "The acquisition, scientific ordination, and general diffusion of knowledge, will necessarily obliterate error and superstition, and continually amend the condition of man upon the globe, until his ultimate condition shall be the best the circumstances of the earth permit of." On this ground the author takes up "*the natural probability of a millennium*"—based on the classification of the sciences, on the past progress of mankind, and on the computed evolution of man's future progress. By a millennium the author does not mean any particular portion of time—nor a miraculous condition of society, produced by supernatural changes in the nature of man—nor a personal reign of Christ in the world—(all which may be true, but do not demand a consideration here), but, "by a millennium," he says, "we mean a period of universal peace and prosperity—a reign of knowledge, justice, and benevolence—a period when the systematic arrangements of society shall be in perfect accordance with the dictates of man's reason—and when societies shall act correctly, and thereby evolve the maximum of happiness possible on earth."

We have said that the argument for the natural probability of such a reign of justice is based, first, on the classification of the sciences. The author, therefore, enters on that subject, and with great learning and philosophical acumen, investigates the *logical order* of the sciences—the *chronological order* in which they have been evolved—the sciences at which we have *now* arrived (for more sciences than one are at every period undergoing evolution, though at different stages of progress; antecedent and consequent to each other, but also interweaving or overlapping each other)—and then he inquires, "What are the branches of knowledge yet to be reduced to scientific ordination; and in what order may we expect those future branches to be reduced to the form of science, which excludes diversity of credence?" We can here give no fair idea of the completeness and simplicity of the author's scheme of classification; it is one of the most masterly parts of the volume, and of high value to the student of science or of social philosophy. After this classification the author proceeds to the determination of the character, position, and boundaries of political science;—the province of *political economy*, now pervaded by endless superstitions, is said to be *utility*, and its ultimatum *the production of man*; the province of *politics proper* is *equity*, its principles and scheme entirely *restrictive*, and its object the realization of a reign of justice.

The argument may be thus condensed—and we shall use the words of the author, although not quoting his complete summary:—The progression of humanity is in proportion to the acquisition and reduction to practical operation of rational knowledge;—that rational knowledge is divided into the various sciences;—the sciences have among themselves a necessary co-ordination;—the measure of this co-ordination is the relative simplicity or complexity of the objects involved in the science;—but the sciences have also a necessary order of chronological discovery;—the order of chronological discovery is coincident with the order of logical classification (this the author has fully verified);—consequently, if the logical classification be satisfactorily achieved, and the whole of the sciences are not yet evolved, we can predict what the future order of discovery will be. The progression has been from logic and the mathematical sciences, through the physical sciences, and up to *man-science*;—man's functions are—action on the external world; action on man, without interference; action on man by interference; actions towards the Divine Being;—the first of these functions is *artistic*, the second *economic*, the third *politic*, the fourth *theologic*;—the point at which we are now arrived is *economic*; the order of science, the history of the past, assure us that the next step will be *political science*, however long or short may be the process of its evolution.

The discussion, on the principles arrived at, in the course of the investigation, of the practical questions of property, pauperism, representation, crime, justice, and equality—contributes greatly to the general interest of the argument. The cause of freedom and truth scarcely ever looked to us so hopeful as it now lies before us in the light of the



calm wisdom this work imparts. The absence of the feeling of the political journalist and the one-sidedness of the partizan is an additional element in the impressiveness of the author's teachings. One sees social traditions, and the superstitions which have influenced all political arrangements, creep off as pale shadows; and Reason alone remains to shape the institutions of human society. The creed of the freest, most liberal, "People's party" is here reduced to scientific ordination. Philosophy and Religion—for this treatise is as distinguished by Christian faith as by philosophical strength—give us our commission, and add a prophecy of sure success.

The last chapter is a brief outline of a historical sketch, in which it is attempted to apprehend the sentiments of the human mind which have ruled society, and to appreciate the psychological development of man through historic manifestations. We cannot express the value of this chapter in terms adequate to our sense of its truthfulness, originality, and power to work conviction. We give a tabular summary from its close:—

"To sum up the historic probabilities we may present the following table. The producers of food and of articles to exchange against food are the ruled; and the rulers appear under their respective forms.

"THE RULED.  
The Cultivators, Traders, Manufacturers, &c. &c.

"THE RULERS.  
Warriors.

"War on barbarous principles, from the departure of the Romans to the Conquest.

"Knight Warriors.

"From the Conquest to the death of Richard III.

"King and Courtiers.

"From Henry VII. to Revolution of 1688.

"Church and State Policy Rulers.

"From 1688 to George IV. or William IV.

"Political Economy Rulers.

"Beginning to assume direction of the State in the reign of Queen Victoria.

"And the order of the systems that have hitherto been pursued by the ruling classes, and of the systems which may be expected in future, is as follows:—

"Manifestation.

"1. The Barbarous War System.

"2. The Knightly War System.

"3. The Court Gallant System.

"4. The Court Policy System.

"5. The Political Economy System.

"6. The Science of Equity System.

"7. Finally, the Supremacy of Christianity.

"Faculties of Mind.

"1. Combativeness and Lower Passions—Manual Arts developing.

"2. Combativeness and Sentiments—Fine Arts developing.

"3. Voluptuousness, with the Mechanical Arts developing.

"4. Cunning, with the Understanding developing.

"5. Benefit, or Utility, with the Practical Reason.

"6. Justice, with the Theoretic Reason.

"7. Benevolence, with the Mind developed.

"And this scheme (imperfectly and crudely as we have advanced it), we maintain, is borne out, first, by the analytic reason analyzing the forms of scientific truth and the order of scientific development; second, by the analysis of the components of man's nature; and third, by the abstract form of history, so far as it has extended. And on these three grounds, if they coincide and mutually support each other, may be projected the natural probability of a period yet to come, when justice shall be realized on earth, to be followed by a period when Christianity shall reign supreme, and call into real and systematic action the higher and nobler sentiments of man."

We do not often read a book which gives us such thorough satisfaction, or engages us to such hearty agreement, as does this. We wish we could quote many passages which contain criticisms of institutions, theories, and tendencies of our own times. Scarcely a topic is touched, on which the author does not advance original and profitable thoughts. His speculations have the true philosophical cast,—are free from enthusiasm and extravagance, yet are not destitute of the high fancy which adorns and expands, not violates sound wisdom. Few names of decided note attach to the literature of political science, strictly such. When the author of this work shall be pleased to declare his name, it will be ranked, we think, second to none of his predecessors.

More and more are men feeling after political truth;—delivered from superstition, they fall into empiricism;—or, adopting a theory, they too often embrace one which ignores the facts of history, has none of the sanctions of science, and, perhaps, fails to recognise the unchanging though progressive nature, or the actual condition, of man. Superficial notions—political crotchets—a propensity to rely on the force of external institutions, super-imposed, rather than developed from the existing state of human society in its succession of modified necessities or enlarged possibilities—and the habit of seeking remedy for admitted evils in fresh social creations, instead of working cure in men themselves, obediently to the law of true progress—these, and many other weaknesses and falsehoods of modern politics, this treatise is potent to correct and remove. Let us humbly but confidently assure every writer, talker, and actor in the political field, that an acquaintance with its firmly-established principles and grand conceptions will incalculably promote the attainment of clearness of mind, a definite basis of certitude, and vitality of action.

## MARRIAGE.

December 6, at the Independent Chapel, Clare, Suffolk, by the Rev. S. L. Harris, ABRAHAM T. CHAPLIN, Esq., of Fulbourn, Camb., to MARTHA ELIZABETH, only daughter of T. GAYFER, Esq., of the former place.

December 10, at East-parade Chapel, Leeds, by the Rev. H. R. Reynolds, B.A., FREDERICK BAINES, Esq., of Leeds, to SUSANNAH, the eldest daughter of the Rev. J. REYNOLDS, of Halstead, Essex.

## DEATHS.

November 4, of apoplexy, deeply regretted, aged 30, WILLIAM HENRY SUTCLIFFE, Esq., of Sandy Vale, Dukinfield, son of the Rev. J. Sutcliffe, of Ashton-under-Lyne.

November 27, of bronchitis, aged 10 months, JOHN MALSBURY KIRBY, infant son of Mr. J. C. GREEN, surgeon, Towcester.

December 4, at his residence, in Grove-street, Hackney, in his 80th year, the Rev. H. H. NORRIS, Rector of South Hackney, and Frebendary of St. Paul's and Llandaff.

December 4, in her 65th year, ELIZABETH, wife of E. FOSTER, Esq., of Arbury-hall, near Cambridge.

December 5, aged 26, THOMAS COLLINS HINE, son of the Rev. T. C. Hine, of Plymouth.

December 5, at Beeston, near Nottingham, aged 70 years, Mr. THOMAS BARNARD, for forty-five years a member of the church assembling in Castle-gate Meeting-house, Nottingham.

December 6, after a short but severe illness, MARY JANETTA, the infant daughter of the Rev. T. FISON, B.A., of Romsey.

[Advertisement.]—HALSE'S PORTABLE GALVANIC APPARATUS.—(From the *Westminster* of March 10).—"That Mr. Halse stands high as a Medical Galvanist, and that he is generally considered as the head of his profession, are facts which we have long known; but we did not know, until very recently, that he had brought the Galvanic Apparatus to such a high state of perfection that an invalid may galvanize himself with the most perfect safety. We happen to know something of Galvanism ourselves, and we can truly say that his apparatus is far superior to anything of the kind we ever beheld. To those of our invalid friends, therefore, who may feel desirous of testing the remedial powers of Galvanism, we say, apply at once to the fountain head. To secure beneficial results, it is necessary, as we can from experience assert, to be galvanised by an apparatus constructed on the best principles; for, although the sensation experienced from the small machines of the common construction during the operation is very similar to that experienced by Mr. Halse's machines, yet the effects afterwards produced are vastly different the one producing a feeling of exhaustion, and the other a feeling of renewed vigour. Mr. Halse particularly recommends Galvanism for the restoration of muscular power in any part of the body which may be deficient of it. Mr. Halse residence is at 22, Brunswick-square."

## MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

## CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

A marked improvement has taken place in the English Stock Market since the apparent settlement of the political differences in Germany. Not that at any time the belligerent aspect of affairs had a very material influence in producing a depression in the market, but they prevented Stocks from attaining the high prices which they would otherwise have done. Now that the apprehensions of the most timid holders are dispersed, the market is daily getting firmer. Consols are quoted at 97½ to 98½—a rise of nearly one per cent. since our last—whilst Bank Stock has reached 213.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday.	Sat.	Monday.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Cons.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	98
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Red.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	97
New 3½ per Ct.						
Annuities...	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	99
India Stock ..	270½	271	271	271	271	271
Bank Stock ..	212½	212½	213	213	213	213
Exchq. Bills..	66 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.
India Bonds ..	83 pm.			83 pm.	83 pm.	83 pm.
Long Annuity..		7 13 16	7½	8 1-16		7 13-16

In the Foreign Market, a fair business has been done, but unattended by any event of interest. Spanish remain as at our last—the Three per Cents. 39½, and the Five per Cents. 17½. Mexican Bonds are firm at 32½. Russian are at 96½, and Peruvian at 80.

The Money Market is rather more tightened. Lombard-street for first-class paper 2½ per cent. is more readily paid, and 3½ per cent. and upwards is asked upon other bills and securities. The progress of the revenue is stated to be satisfactory, and the official returns of trade and navigation, completed since our last for the ninth and tenth months, ending the 5th November, give still an increase of exports compared with the like date of 1849.

The market for Railway Shares has considerably improved, with the exception of Caledonian, which has declined to 9½. The traffic returns are not so favourable this week, but there is an evident disposition to sustain prices. The Great Northern line is steadily improving, and its shares have been in considerable demand. The increase in prices since our last has been in Aberdeen ½, Great Northern ½.

## PRICES OF STOCKS.

The highest prices are given.

BRITISH.	Price.	FOREIGN.	Price.
Consols .....	98½	Brazil .....	86½
Do. Account .....	98½	Equador .....	34
3 per Cent. Reduced ..	97½	Dutch 4 per cent ..	88½
3½ New .....	99½	French 3 per cent ..	58
Long Annuities .....	7½	Granada .....	18
Bank Stock .....	213½	Mexican 5 per cent ..	33
India Stock .....	271	Portuguese .....	34½
Exchequer Bills—		Russian .....	109½
June .....	67 pm.	Spanish 5 per cent ..	18
India Bonds .....	85 pm.	Ditto 3 per cent .....	39½
		Ditto Passive .....	3½

## THE GAZETTE.

Friday, Dec. 6.

## BANK OF ENGLAND.

An account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 30th day of Nov., 1850.

## ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

£	£
Notes issued .....	29,369,785
Government Debt ..	11,015,100
Other Securities ..	2,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion	15,224,118
Silver Bullion .....	45,667
	£29,369,785
	£29,369,785

## BANKING DEPARTMENT.

£	£
Proprietors' Capital 14,553,000	Government Securities (including Dead Weight Annuity) .....
Reserve .....	14,228,901
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) .....	Other Securities ..
9,398,752	12,461,368
Other Deposits .....	Notes .....
9,789,794	10,762,335
Seven-day and other Bills .....	Gold and Silver Coin ..
1,265,406	640,086
£38,092,690	£38,092,690

Dated the 5th day of Dec., 1850.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

## BANKRUPTS.

BYRNE, HENRY (and not "Bishe," as before advertised), otherwise BISH, Brighton, Sussex, builder, December 10, January 17: solicitors, Messrs. Freeman and Bothamley, Coleman-street; and Mr. Chalk, Brighton.

HEYGATE, WILLIAM (and not "Heygak," as before advertised), Watford, Northamptonshire, and Chardstock, Dorsetshire, brickmaker, December 13, January 18: solicitors, Mr. Low, Chancery-lane; and Mr. Becke, Northampton.

GAUDIANO, ANTONIO GUARUFFE, and ST. CLAIR, ENRICO CICCIARE, Great St. Helen's, merchants, December 14, January 18: solicitor, Mr. Smythe, John-street, Bedford-row.

GREEN, RICHARD, jun., Brighton, Sussex, ironmonger, December 13, February 1: solicitors, Mr. Spinks, Great Jervis-street, Bedford-row; Mr. Taylor, Birmingham; and Mr. Faithful, Brighton.

COWPER, WILLIAM SOLOMON, Bishopsgate-street Without, and New-street, Dorset-square, grocer, December 16, January 21: solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house.

CARTER, JAMES, Kilburn, builder, December 16, January 21: solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence and Fieles, Old Jewry-chambers, City.

STANTON, WILLIAM, Buckingham, watchmaker, December 13, January 14: solicitors, Mr. Kennedy, Chancery-lane; and Mr. King, Buckingham.

PROVOST, ABRAHAM, Peterborough, linendraper, December 13, January 14: solicitor, Mr. Jones, Mark-lane.

HARPER, JOSEPH, late of Posenby-place, Vauxhall-bridge-road, coal merchant, December 13, January 16: solicitor, Mr. Smith, New-inn.

CURD, JOHN, George-street, Camden-town, cheesemonger, December 13, January 14: solicitor, Mr. Lloyd, Bloomsbury-square.

BAINES, HERBERT TEWSON, Camden-road, Camden-new-town, linendraper, December 13, January 17: solicitors, Messrs. Hardwick, Davidson, and Bradbury, Basinghall-street.

COLLINS, MARY ANN, Middle-road, Brixton, milliner, December 9, January 17: solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence and Fieles, Old Jewry-chambers, Old Jewry.

BLAKY, GEORGE, Lincoln, perfumer, December 13, January 15: solicitors, Mr. Goddard, King-street, Cheapside; and Messrs. Harle and Clarke, Leeds.

KAYE, RICHARD, Liverpool, butcher, December 19, January 10: solicitor, Mr. Bremner, Liverpool.

JOLLEY, JAMES, and JACKSON, WILLIAM, Wigan, acetic acid manufacturers, December 25, January 14: solicitor, Mr. Gaskell, Bolton.

FRANK, SAMUEL, Topsham, Devonshire, coal merchant: December 11, January 8: solicitor, Mr. Turner, Exeter.

DAVEY, THOMAS, Liskeard, seedsmen, December 18, January 15: solicitor, Mr. Ferrell, Exeter.

DAVIES, JOHN, Kingston, Herefordshire, mercer, December 19, January 16: solicitors, Mr. Pugh, Hay, Brecknockshire; and Messrs. Chaplin, Richards, and Stubbin, Birmingham.

MONSIEUR, FREDERICK GEALE, Cheltenham, wine merchant, December 21, January 21: solicitors, Mr. Boodle, Cheltenham; Mr. Washbourn, Gloucester; and Messrs. Abbot and Lucas, Bristol.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BLACK, W., Hamilton, baker, December 11, January 3.

MOFFAT, W., and Co., Edinburgh and Greenock, druggists, December 11, January 1.

## DIVIDENDS.

W. Harper, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, merchant, first div. of 4d.; on Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Mr. Groom's, Abchurch-lane.—G. Danson, Lancaster, merchant, fourth div. of 31-64ths of a penny; January 7, or any subsequent Tuesday, at Mr. Pott's, Manchester.—K. B. Perkins, Coventry, carrier, first div. of 1s. 0½d.; any Thursday, at Mr. Christie's, Birmingham.—J. Tomkinson, Liverpool and Runcorn, stonemason, second div. of 1s. 3½d., and final div. of 2s. 4d. on new proofs; December 14, or any subsequent Wednesday, at Mr. Morgan's, Liverpool.—W. Briddon, Boodle, near Liverpool, manufacturing chemist, first div. of 1s. 6d.; December 11, or any subsequent Wednesday, at Mr. Turner's, Liverpool.—J. Higginson and R. Deane, Liverpool and Barbacoe, merchants, third div. of 4d., and 3s. 4d. on new proofs; December 11, or any subsequent Wednesday, at Mr. Turner's, Liverpool.

## Tuesday, December 10.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

Providence Chapel, Lower Widdon, Northlew, Devonshire.  
Horbury Chapel, Notting-hill, Kensington.  
Rehoboth, Harlech, Llandanwg, Merionethshire.

## BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

WRIGHT, JOHN ROBERT, Leeds, carrier.

## BANKRUPTS.

PROVOST, ABRAHAM, Peterborough, linen draper, December 13, January 14: solicitor, Mr. Johnson, Sise-lane (not Mark-lane, as before advertised).

CURD, JOHN, Grove-street (not George-street, as before advertised), Camden Town, cheesemonger, December 13, January 14: solicitors, Messrs. Ford and Lloyd, Bloomsbury.

HONE, NATHANIEL JOHN, Reading, common brewer, December 19, January 23: solicitors, Messrs. Gregory, Faulkner, Gregory, and Skirrow, Bedford-row.

BREND, ADOLPH, and BLOOMENTHAL, ISIDORE, Weymouth-place, New Kent-road, cigar merchants, December 19, January 23: solicitors, Messrs. Bristow and Tarrant, Bond-court, Walbrook.

HONEYMAN, ALEXANDER, Creek-road, Deptford, builder, December 20, February 1: solicitor, Mr. Sadgrove, Mark-lane.

BURTON, GERARD, Whitechapel-road, linendraper, December 20, February 1: solicitors, Messrs. Ashurst and Son, Old Jewry.

BURNELL, JOHN PALMER, Moorgate-street, and Coleman-street, china-dealer, December 19, January 21: solicitors, Messrs. Hindmarsh and Evans, Crescent, Jervis-street.

SMITH, GEORGE MORTIMER, Ironbridge, Shropshire, bookseller, January 2, 22: solicitors, Messrs. Mottram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham.

KITE, JAMES, Crewkerne, Somersetshire, wine-merchant, December 24, January 22: solicitors, Mr. Penny, Taunton; and Mr. Stogdon, Exeter.

CARDWELL, EDWARD, Manchester, sharbroker, December 20, January 16, 1851: solicitors, Messrs. Bond and Barwick, Leeds; and Messrs. Sale, Worthington, and Shipman, Manchester.

SIMPSON, WILLIAM, and CHADWICK, EDMUND, Manchester, starch-manufacturers, December 17, January 7: solicitors, Messrs. Atkinson, Saunders, and Atkinson, Manchester.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

WINGATE, O., and LAUDER, R., warehousemen, Glasgow, December 17, January 14.

MEFFAN, T. K., Dundee, merchant, December 13, January 8.

MUNRO, K., Aberdeen, shoemaker, December 16, January 2.

CAMPBELL, J., Rothessy, grocer, December 14, January 6.

M'GLASHAN, Edinburgh, commission agent, December 13, January 3.

WARDEN, A., Glasgow, sugar merchant, December 16, January 6.



**DIVIDENDS.**  
R. Britton, Bradford, Yorkshire, grocer, first, second, and final div. of 2s. 7d., and second final div. of 4d.; at Mr. Hope's, Leeds, any Tuesday—S. Nicholson, York, wholesale druggist, first div. of 9s.; at Mr. Hope's, Leeds, and Monday or Tuesday—T. H. Cape, Reeds, Yorkshire, attorney, first and final div. of 4d.; at Mr. Hope's, Leeds, any Tuesday—W. Robinson, Saddleworth, Yorkshire, dyer, first and final div. of 8d.; at Mr. Hope's, Leeds, any Monday or Tuesday—J. Tidmarsh, Regent-street, and Cheltenham, first div. of 2s. 3d.; at Mr. Stansfield's, Basinghall-street, December 17, and three subsequent Thursdays—E. Soul, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury, bookseller, first div. of 2s.; at Mr. Stansfield's, Basinghall-street, December 12, and three subsequent Thursdays.

## MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, Dec. 9.

The supply of Wheat from Essex and Kent was moderate this morning, and was taken off by the millers at fully last Monday's prices. With Foreign Wheat and Flour we were liberally supplied, and the sale of both was limited, at previous quotations. Barley, with the exception of finest malting qualities, slow sale, but without change in price. Beans and Peas unaltered. The arrival of Oats was small, and the trade very firm at an advance of 6d. per qr. Linseed Cakes quite as dear. In Cloverseed there is still but little doing.

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR NOV. 30.	AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.
Wheat..... 48s. 3d.	Wheat..... 40s. 1d.
Barley..... 24 6	Barley..... 24 2
Oats..... 17 1	Oats..... 17 11
Rye..... 26 6	Rye..... 25 5
Beans..... 28 5	Beans..... 28 10
Peas..... 29 9	Peas..... 29 6

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 9.

With home-fed Beasts we were again extensively supplied. With the exception of about 500 st for Christmas consumption, the general quality of this kind of stock was very inferior. Notwithstanding that the attendance of both town and country buyers was on the increase, the Beef trade was in a very depressed state. However, the prime Scotch, &c., sold at prices about equal to those of Monday last, but most other breeds were somewhat easier, and a total clearance was not effected. The supply of Sheep being somewhat on the increase, the Mutton trade was in a sluggish state; but we have no decline to notice in the quotations. The prime old Downs were selling at from 4s. to 4s. 2d. per 8lbs. The quality of the Sheep was decidedly good. Calves (the numbers of which were small) moved off heavily, at Friday's decline in value of 2d. per 8lbs. The Pork trade ruled exceedingly heavy; and large Hogs were again the turn in favour of the butchers.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef..... 2s. 4d. to 3s. 10d.	Veal..... 2s. 8d. to 3s. 10d.
Mutton..... 2 10 .. 4 2	Pork..... 2 8 .. 4 2
HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.	
Beasts..... 939 .. 4,000	Calves..... 300 .. 330
Monday... 5,058 .. 24,190	..... 180 .. 410

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Dec. 9.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.	Per 8lbs. by the carcass.
Inferior Beef 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.	Inf. Mutton 2s. 6d. to 2s. 10d.
Middle do 2 6 .. 3 2	Mid. ditto 3 0 .. 3 6
Prime large 3 10 .. 3 8	Prime ditto 3 8 .. 3 10
Prime small 3 4 .. 3 6	Veal..... 2 10 .. 3 10
Large Pork 3 6 .. 3 8	Small Pork 3 8 .. 4 4

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday.

The sale for Irish Butter in the past week was slow and limited, and the market, towards the close, dull. Holders, in consequence of the advices from Ireland, were firm in their pretensions, and asked an advance of 1s. to 2s. per cwt. on most kinds; but only succeeded in a few instances for the finest quality. The dealers, for the most part, showed no disposition to increase their stocks, even at former rates. Foreign nearly stationary in demand and value. Irish and Hambro' singed Bacon sold to a fair extent at no material change in prices. Old American moved off steadily at rather more money, and the stock reduced to a moderate compass. No arrivals of new. Of Hams and Lard we have nothing new to report.

**ENGLISH BUTTER MARKET, Dec. 9.**—Our trade has been rather brisk during the past week, but to-day the market opens dull, and current rates will not be supported. Dorset, fine weekly, 94s. to 96s. per cwt.; do., middling, 70s. to 80s.; Devon, fresh made, —s. to —s.; Fresh, 10s. to 13s. per doz. lbs.

**BREAD.**—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 7d. to 7½d.; of household ditto, 5d. to 5½d. per 4lbs. loaf.

**HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Dec. 9.**—Fine samples meet with a steady inquiry at about last week's rates, but inferior sorts are heavy, and may be bought cheaper.

**POTATOES, SOUTHWARK, WATERLOO, Dec. 9.**—From the continued south-east wind, our market the last week has been supplied principally by rail, which has been very considerable. The very few York and Scotch that have arrived realise our extreme quotations. Those by rail being of such various qualities, we are obliged to give a large range of prices. There have been a few cargoes from France, which have met a ready sale. The following are this day's prices:—Yorkshire Regents, 80s. to 100s. per ton; Lincolnshire Shaws, —s. to —s.; Scotch, 65s. to 80s.; Fife, —s. to —s.; Rhenish Whites, —s. to —s.; French Whites, 70s. to 80s.; Wisbech and Cambridgeshire, 70s. to 90s.

**COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Saturday, Dec. 7.**—Vegetables are abundantly supplied. Hothouse Grapes and Pineapples are quite equal to the demand. Oranges and Lemons are plentiful. Peas are still received from the continent. Filberts are dearer. Carrots and Turnips are good in quality, and so are Potatoes. The latter are rather dearer. Lettuce and other salad are sufficient for the demand. Mushrooms are scarce. Cut Flowers consist of Heaths, Pelargoniums, Camellias, Pochelias, Mignonette, Tulips, Dahlias, Bignonia venusta, Chrysanthemums, and Roses.

**SEEDS, LONDON, Monday.**—There was some inquiry for Cloverseed this morning, but the operations were not of sufficient importance to enable us to give quotations with accuracy. Canaryseed was in improved request, but not dearer. Mustardseed was very dull, and rather lower. In Linseed, Rapeseed, and Cakes of both sorts, no change occurred.

**TALLOW, MONDAY, Dec. 9.**—D ring the past week, the delivery of Tallow has somewhat increased, it having amounted to 2,502 casks; but the import did not exceed 321 do. On the whole, the demand, to-day, is steady, and previous rates are well supported in every instance. F.Y.C. on the spot, is quoted at 37s. 3d. to 37s. 6d. per cwt., being a rise of 3d. since our last report. Town Tallow is 37s. to 37s. 3d. per cwt. net cash; rough fat, 2s. 1d. per 8lbs. Letters from St. Petersburg bring very firm prices for next year. The total shipments will be found below.

PARTICULARS OF TALLOW.

	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Stock this day ...	Casks. 22,771	Casks. 11,662	Casks. 32,507	Casks. 48,715	Casks. 56,621
Price of Y. C. ...	48s. 6d.	46s. 6d.	44s. 6d.	38s. 6d.	37s. 3d.
Delivery last week	3,200	2,485	2,144	2,950	2,502
Do. from 1st June	49,035	51,506	55,061	50,197	49,484
Arrived last week	439	41	1,061	7,138	521
Do. from 1st June	61,203	55,069	60,035	73,439	80,461
Price of Town ...	51s. 6d.	49s. 6d.	46s. 6d.	41s. 6d.	39s. 6d.

**WOOL, OTT, Monday, Dec. 9.**—The imports of Wool into London last week were 401 bales from Germany, 41 from Bel-

gium, and 614 from the Cape of Good Hope. The public sales of Wool which have been in progress since our last closed on Saturday evening. There were offered 25,684 bales of colonial, including 7,950 bales Sydney, 5,170 Port Phillip and Portland Bay, 1,832 Van Diemen's Land, 739 Adelaide, 8,304 Cape, 1,014 New Zealand, and 36 Swan River, besides 1,263 East India, 703 Odessa Merino, 534 Spanish, 382 German, and 853 Sundries. The attendance of our home manufacturers and dealers was larger than ever before witnessed, while that from the continent, owing to the threatening state of political affairs, was very limited, and their purchases were unimportant. The smallness of the quantity of colonial wool now offered, with the scanty supply that can be brought forward in February, or before May next, caused our sales to open with an advance of 1d. per lb.; as we progressed a further improvement was susceptible, and, at the conclusion, we may quote an average advance of 2d. per lb. over those of September last. The prices current are as follows:—Sydney, fleeces 1s. 4d. to 2s. 0½d., counted 2s. 3d.; lambs' 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8½d., scoured 1s. 10d.; grease 10d. to 1s.; locks and pieces 9½d. to 1s. 3½d.; slip and skin 1s. to 1s. 6d.; scoured 1s. 11d. Port Phillip and Portland Bay, fleeces 1s. 3½d. to 1s. 10d., scoured 2s. 4½d.; lambs' 1s. 3d. to 2s. 1½d., scoured 2s. 6d.; grease 9d. to 11d.; locks and pieces 1s. to 1s. 4d.; slip and skin 1s. 3d. to 1s. 5d.; Van Diemen's Land, fleeces 1s. 4d. to 1s. 10½d.; lambs' 1s. 3½d. to 1s. 10½d., scoured 2s. 3d.; grease 9d. to 1s.; locks and pieces 1s. to 1s. 3d.; slip and skin 1s. 2d. to 1s. 5d.; Adelaide, fleeces 1s. 9d. to 1s. 6½d., scoured 1s. 10d.; lambs' 1s. 4d. to 1s. 7d.; grease 9d. to 10d.; locks and pieces 9d. to 1s. 1d.; slip and skin 1s. 1d. to 1s. 5½d.

HAY MARKETS, SATURDAY, Dec. 7.

	At per load of 36 trusses.
	Smithfield. Cumberland. Whitechapel.
Meadow Hay ..	48s. to 76s. 48s. to 78s. 48s. to 76s.
Clover Hay ..	60s. 84s. 60s. 80s. 60s. 84s.
Straw.....	21s. 28s. 22s. 29s. 21s. 28s.

**OILS.**—Linseed, per cwt., —s. 0d. to 33s. 3d.; Rapeseed, English refined, 37s. 6d. to —s.; foreign, 38s. 6d.; Gallipoli, per tun, £44; Spanish, £42; Sperm £88 to £90, bagged £84; South Sea, £35 to £37 10s.; Seal, pale, £39 0s. to £— 0s.; do. coloured, £36; Cod, £40 to £—; Cocoa Nut, per ton, £38 to £40; Palm, £29. 6s.

COAL MARKET, Monday, Dec. 9.

Stewart's, 16s. 0d.; Hetton's, 16s. 0d.; Braddell's, 15s. 6d.; Kellor, 15s. 3d.; Richmond, 15s. 3d.; Eden, 14s. 9d.; Adelaide's, 15s.; R. Hetton, 15s. 0d.; Wyjam, 14s. 9d.; Durham, 15s. 3d.; Tees, 17s. 0d.; Belmont, 16s. 0d. An exceedingly heavy market in anticipation of a large arrival during the week. Fresh arrivals, 5; left from last day, 7. Total, 12.

COLONIAL MARKETS—Tuesday Evening.

**SUGAR.**—The market opened to-day with an active appearance, and an advance of about 6d. has been pretty generally established. 880 hhds. of West India sold in the private contract market, and 2,000 bags of Mauritius; 4,300 bags Bengal and 2,500 Penang in public sale. The refined market shows an advance of 6d.; grocery lump, fair to fine, 50s. 6d. to 52s.

**COFFEE.**—The public sale of Plantation Ceylon went off heavily, and the greater portion was bought in for want of buyers at previous rates. 300 bags of good ordinary native Ceylon were offered, and bought in at 36s., which is nominally 1s. decline.

**COCOA.**—200 bags Para were offered, and bought in at 32s. 6d. Tea.—Prices remain firm, but the trade are reluctant buyers, which is generally the case at this season of the year. There will be public sale on Thursday next.

**PEPPER.**—450 bags Penang sold in public sale, 3½d. to 3½d. per lb., which was a slight advance.

**RICE.**—5,000 bags of good Madras sold freely in public sale, 6½d. to 9s. 6d., which was 3d. advance.

**RUM.** remains firm at 37s. to 37s. 6d.  
**SALTPEPER** remains steady.  
**COTTON.**—We are without transactions to report to-day. In other articles no material alteration.

## ADVERTISEMENTS.

Just published, price Twopence,

**PLAIN WORDS TO PLAIN PEOPLE.** The Dangers and Duties of the Free Churches of England in the Present Crisis: a Discourse delivered in the Congregational Church, Kentish Town, on Sunday, November 17th, 1850. By the Rev. WILLIAM FORSTER. (Published by request.)

Now ready, Second Edition, price Fourpence.

**THE ROAR of the LION: a Discourse in** Reference to the Recent Measure of the Church of Rome. By A. J. MORRIS. Holloway.

To-morrow, price Threepence, 2s. 6d. per dozen,

**PRIEST, the ESSENCE of POPE; or, the** Lord's Supremacy. An appeal on the subject of the True Head of the Church. By JAMES BALDWIN BROWN, A.B.

In a few days,

**THE CORE of CREEDS; or, St. Peter's** Keys. By Rev. DAVID THOMAS, Stockwell.

Just published, price Sixpence,

**THE PAPAL INVASION: how to Defeat it.** An Appeal to British Protestants. By JAMES CARLILE, D.D., Editor of "The Protestant World." London: WARD and Co., 27, Paternoster-row.

In a few days,

**PROTESTANTISM for 1850.—A SERMON** on the Recent PAPAL MOVEMENT, preached in Belgrave Chapel, Leeds, on Sunday evening, Nov. 10, 1850. By the Rev. G. W. CONDER.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, and Co.; ARTHUR HALL, VIRTUE, and Co.; and BENJAMIN L. GREEN. LEADS: JOHN HEATON.

PATRONISED BY THE QUEEN.

**ATKINSON and BARKER'S ROYAL INFANTS' PRESERVATIVE** has now been established nearly sixty years, and can be confidently recommended to both rich and poor as a perfectly safe and agreeable REMEDY FOR INFANTS. It is a pleasant and efficacious cathartic, affording instant relief in, and effectually removing, those alarming and numerous complaints to which infants are liable, as affections of the bowels, flatulency, difficult teething, the thrush or frog, convulsions, rickets, &c.; it is an admirable assistant to Nature during the progress of the hooping cough, measles, the cow-pox or vaccine inoculation, and is so perfectly innocent that it may be given with the greatest safety immediately after birth. It is no misnomer cordial (!)—no stupefactive, deadly narcotic—but a veritable preservative of infants. Mothers would do well in always having this valuable medicine in the nursery. In short, whether this medicine enters the palace or the cottage, the proprietor feels an honest conviction of its power to assuage maternal pain for infant suffering—to convert that pain into gladness, that suffering into balmy repose. It is highly recommended by the faculty. Prepared and sold by Robert Barker, 34, Green-gate, Salford, Manchester (Chemist to her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria), in bottles at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., and 4s. 6d. The 4s. 6d. contains seven times, and the 2s. 9d. three and a half times the quantity of those at 1s. 1½d. Sold by all druggists and medicine vendors throughout the United Kingdom.

**CAUTION.**—Observe the names of "Atkinson and Barker" on the Government stamp, without which it cannot be genuine.

**ALPACA UMBRELLAS.**—The economy, both in the cost and wear of this umbrella, has been fully established, and proves that "Alpaca" will outlast any other material hitherto used for umbrellas. It may be obtained of most umbrella dealers in the United Kingdom, from 10s. 6d.—W. & J. SANGSTER, 1-6, Regent-street; 94, Fleet-street; 10, Royal Exchange; and 75, Cheapside.

## REGISTER AND ALL OTHER STOVES.

**WILLIAM S. BURTON'S** Stock of REGISTER and other Stoves, besides being the largest in the world, is unequalled in novelty and variety of designs, and unsurpassed in excellence of workmanship. Bright Stoves, with bronzed ornaments, and two sets of bars, £3 14s. to £5 10s.; ditto, with ornate ornaments and two sets of bars, £5 10s. to £12 12s.; Bronzed Fenders complete, with standards, from 7s. to £3; Steel Fenders, from £2 15s. to £6; ditto, with rich ornate ornaments, from £3 15s. to £7 7s.; Fire-Irons, from 1s. 9d. the set to £4 4s. Sylvester's and other Patented Radiating Stoves, and Kitchen Ranges equally low.

## LAMPS of all SORTS and PATTERNS.—The

largest, as well as choicest, assortment of PALMER'S MAGNUM and other CANDLESTICKS, CAMPHINE, ARGAND, and SOLAR LAMPS, with all the latest improvements, and of the newest and most recherche patterns, in ornate, Bohemian, and plain glass, or papier mache, in existence, is at W. S. BURTON'S, where all the seasonable novelties are now selling. Palmer's Patent Candles (marked "Palmer"), 6½d. per lb.; English Camphine, in sealed cans, 3s. 9d. per imperial gallon.

The money returned for every article not approved of. Detailed catalogues, with engravings, as well as of every ironmongery article, sent (per post) free.

**WILLIAM S. BURTON**, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street), and No. 1, Newman-street.

ESTABLISHED IN WELLS-STREET, 1820.

## FOOD FOR INFANTS, INVALIDS,

Ladies who are Suckling, and Persons of Delicate Constitution.

## BULLOCK'S SEMOLA.

This substance is prepared solely from the finest wheat. Its great merit consists in its being rich in gluten, the pure nutritive or staminal principle of that grain. One part being equal in nutritive power to five parts of wheaten flour, it contains absolutely more nourishment than beef or mutton.

Semola, while most easy of digestion, supplies nourishment in a highly concentrated form, and not being so stimulating as animal food, is particularly adapted to persons afflicted with a weak stomach, or suffering from debility in any form.

As an INFANT'S FOOD it supplies exactly what is needed for the growth of the body, and will be found to agree with a weak stomach. All the usual farinaceous and infants' food consist principally of starch, or often of the farina of the coarser grains.

Semola may be given by itself, or added to any other forms of food, to increase their nutritive powers; so that for children accustomed to other food, half or two-thirds of the Semola may be mixed with it, with great advantage.

It is also applicable in many special cases where potatoes, puddings, and pastries are prohibited, and where even bread is known to be injurious, but in such cases it can only be duly appreciated by the profession, and must be given under the direction of the medical attendant.

Semola is agreeable and palatable added to every variety of food, custards, cakes, puddings, &c. It is particularly adapted for an addition to

## SOUPS, BROTH, BEEF, OR MUTTON TEA.

In place of vermicelli, rice, or barley; whilst it improves the flavour of these forms of diet, it greatly increases their nutritive power.

Semola may be obtained, wholesale or retail, of

LLOYD BULLOCK,

22, Conduit-street, London.

Retail Price—In packets, 1s., 2s. 6d., and 7s. 6d.

And may be ordered of all Chemists and Druggists.

## DO YOU WANT BEAUTIFUL AND LUXURIANT HAIR WHISKERS? &amp;c.?

## THE Immense Public Patronage bestowed

upon Miss Ellen Graham's NIOUKRENE is sufficient evidence of its amazing properties in reproducing the human hair, whether lost by disease or natural decay, preventing the hair falling off, strengthening weak hair, and checking greyness. It is guaranteed to produce Whiskers, Moustaches, &c., in three weeks, without fail. It is elegantly scented, and sufficient for three months' use will be sent free, on receipt of 24 postage stamps, by MISS ELLEN GRAHAM, 8, Ampton-street, Gray's Inn-road, London. Unlike all other preparations for the hair, it is free from artificial colouring and filthy greasiness, well known to be so injurious to it.

## AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS.

"My hair is restored, thanks to your very valuable Nioukrene."—Miss Mane, Kennington.

"I tried every other compound advertised, and they are all impostures: your Nioukrene has produced the effect beautifully."—Mr. James, St. Alban's.

"Your Nioukrene is the most elegant preparation I have ever analysed, being free from colouring matter, and injurious scent. The stimulant is excellent."—Dr. John Thomson, author of a Treatise on the Human Hair, and Professor of Chemistry.

For the Nursery it is invaluable, its Balsamic Properties being admirably adapted to Infants' Hair.

## WHY NOT WALK WITH EASE?

Soft and Hard Corns and Bunions may be instantly relieved, and permanently cured, by Miss Graham's PLOMBINE, in three days. It is sent free for Thirteen Postage Stamps.

"It cured my corns like magic."—Mr. John, Hounslow.

"My bunion has not appeared since."—Mrs. Sims, Truro.

## BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, EYE-

BROWS, &c., may be, with certainty, obtained, by using a very small portion of ROSALIE COUFELLE'S PARISIAN POMADE, every morning, instead of any oil or other preparation. A fortnight's use will, in most cases, show its surprising properties in producing and curling Whiskers, Hair, &c., at any age, from whatever cause deficient; as also checking grayness, &c.

Price 2s.; or free by post, with instructions, &c., on receipt of twenty-four postage stamps, by Miss COUFELLE, 35, Ely-place, Holborn, London; who may be consulted on these matters daily, from two till five o'clock.

## TESTIMONIALS.

Lieutenant Holroyd, R.N., writes:—"Its effects are truly astonishing; it has thickened and darkened my hair very much."

Mrs. Buckley, Stapleford:—"Your delightful Pomade has improved my hair wonderfully."

Mr. Yates, hair-dresser, Malton:—"The young man has now a good pair of Whiskers; I want you to send me two pots for other customers of mine."

Mrs. Lello, Worthing:—"I use your Pomade in my nursery, as I find it very useful for children's hair also."

## DO NOT CUT YOUR CORNS—BUT CURE THEM.

Also will be sent (free), on receipt of 13 stamps, her only safe, speedy, and lasting cure for soft or hard corns, bunions, &c. It cures in three days, and is never failing.

Mrs. Hughes, Sunbury:—"It cured four corns, and three bunions amazingly quick, and is the best and safest thing I have ever met with."

Address: Miss COUFELLE, 35, Ely-place, Holborn, London.



## THE GRAND EXPOSITION OF DRESS.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

## SAMUEL BROTHERS,

MERCHANT TAILORS, OUTFITTERS, AND WOOLLEN-DRAPERS,

No. 29, LUDGATE-HILL, ONE DOOR FROM THE OLD BAILEY.

HAS long been known and famed throughout the great Metropolis and Kingdom as the only House in which the best articles, the most unparalleled varieties, and the most assiduous attention, combined with style and economy, could be secured. A reputation well founded, and equally well sustained in all these respects, has so immensely increased the requirements of their Establishment that Messrs. SAMUEL BROTHERS have been compelled to rebuild their premises on a scale suitable to the extended patronage bestowed on them; and on re-opening their Establishment they can confidently assert that, as heretofore, no pains shall be spared in deserving and securing the renewed confidence of their patrons.

## THE SHOW-ROOMS

Afford the most sumptuous display in every variety of Saxony, West of England Cloths, Beavers, Witneys, Kerseys, Doeskins, Cassimeres, English and Foreign Silks, Satins, Velvets, &c., ever collected in one establishment, and being bought of the first manufacturers for cash, cannot fail of meeting the approval of a discerning public. Samuel Brothers' original system of charging separately for material and making, which has given such unqualified satisfaction, will be continued as heretofore. Gentlemen must bear in mind every material is marked in plain figures the price per yard.

The following is an exemplification of the system:—  
For a coat, 1½ superfine cloth, 12s. per yard, material costs £1 1s.; making and trimmings, £1—coat complete... £2 1 0  
For a vest, ¾ superfine cassimere, 5s. 6d. per yard, material cost 4s. 1½d.; making and trimmings 5s. 6d.—vest complete... 0 10 7½  
For a pair of trousers, 2½ superfine cassimere, 5s. 6d. per yard, material costs 13s. 1d.; making and trimmings 6s. 6d. —trousers complete... 0 19 7  
Suit complete... £3 11 2½

## IN THE READY-MADE DEPARTMENT

Everything that capital, taste, skill, and the knowledge of the first markets can command, will be found:—

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A great number of trusses have been left behind by patients cured, as trophies of the immense success of this remedy, which Dr. B. will be happy to give to any requiring them after a trial of it.

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The same Movements in Silver Cases, £2 15s., at the Manufactory, 16 and 63, CORNHILL.

A Large and Beautiful Stock can be selected from, with highly-finished movements, Four Holed Jewelled, Rich Gold Dials, and every improvement.

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A written warranty given with every Watch for two years, and sent, carriage free, to any part of the United Kingdom, upon receipt of a Post-office banker's order.

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MOTTE'S nutritive health-restoring, AROMATIC CHOCOLATE, prepared from the nuts of the Sassafras tree. This chocolate contains the peculiar virtues of the Sassafras root, which has been long held in great estimation for its purifying and alterative properties. The aromatic quality (which is very grateful to the stomach) most invalids require for breakfast and evening repast, to promote digestion, and to a deficiency of this property in the customary breakfast and supper, may, in a great measure, be attributed the frequency of cases of indigestion, generally termed bilious. It has been found highly beneficial in correcting the state of the digestive organs, &c., from whence arise many diseases, such as eruptions of the skin, gout, rheumatism, and scrofula. In cases of debility of the stomach, and a sluggish state of the liver and intestines, occasioning flatulence, costiveness, &c., and in spasmodic asthma, it is much recommended. Sold in pound packages, price 4s., by the Patentee, 12, SOUTHAMPTON-STREET, STRAND, LONDON; also by Chemists.

## HALSE'S LETTERS ON MEDICAL GALVANISM.

For the other letters on Medical Galvanism, Invalids are solicited to send to Mr. Halse for his pamphlet. See below.)

## LETTER I.

## PARALYSIS.—TO INVALIDS.—

GALVANISM has for a long time been resorted to as a powerful remedial agent; but, unfortunately, it has been applied by men totally ignorant of its principles. Can it, therefore, be wondered at that it has so frequently failed of producing any beneficial effects? My great improvement in the Galvanic Apparatus was a method to regulate its power to the greatest nicety, so that an infant may be galvanised without experiencing the least unpleasantness; but no sooner do I make it public than I have made this discovery, than a host of imitators spring up like mushrooms, and state that they are also in possession of the secret; and, by all I hear, a pretty mess they make of their secret. Now, all the world knows how eminently successful I have been in cases of paralysis, particularly in recent cases. This success I attribute entirely to my superior method of regulating the power of the galvanic apparatus; for, without a perfect regulating power, it is utterly impossible to produce successful results. Scarcely a week passes but I have two or three patients who have been either galvanised by some pretender, or have been using that ridiculous apparatus called the electro-magnetic or electro-galvanic apparatus, and, as may reasonably be expected, without the slightest benefit. Many pretenders in the country, having heard of my great success, and my high standing as a medical galvanist in London, have made it public that they have received instructions from me, and are acting as my agents; and, not satisfied with this, are actually selling apparatuses, representing them to be mine. I shall, of course, endeavour to put a stop to this. In the meantime, I now state that my galvanic apparatuses can be procured from me only, as I employ no agents whatever. I will now endeavour to show how galvanism acts in cases of paralysis. Paralysis, or palsy, consists of three varieties—the hemiplegic, the paraplegic, and the local palsy. In the first, the patient is paralysed on one side only; in the second, the lower part of the body is affected on both sides; and in the third kind, particular limbs are affected. The cause of the attacks is the withdrawal of nervous influence from the nerves and muscles of the various parts. Now, Galvanism has been proved by the most eminent physiologists to be capable of supplying the nervous influence to those parts of the body which may be deficient of it, and hence the reason of its astonishing effect in cases of paralysis. In patients thus afflicted, I find that some parts of the spine are less sensitive than other parts; and, until those parts are aroused into action, the patient will not recover. Any medical man, who knows anything whatever of Galvanism, will be at once convinced how applicable Galvanism must be to such complaints; for not only does it arouse the dormant nerves and muscles into action, but it supplies them with that fluid of which they are deficient, viz., the nervous fluid. I think it, however, but fair to state that, in cases of paralysis of long duration, I as frequently fail as succeed, whilst in recent cases I generally succeed. Still, Galvanism should be resorted to in every case of paralysis, no matter of how long duration it might have been, for it cannot possibly do any harm, and it may do good. I repeat, Galvanism is a powerful remedy in cases of paralysis.

Health is the greatest worldly blessing we can enjoy, and yet many invalids, for the sake of saving a few guineas, will purchase apparatuses which are entirely useless for medical purposes. Galvanism, they say, is Galvanism, no matter whether the price of the apparatus be much or little. They may as well say a fiddle is a fiddle, and that there is no difference in them. Surely no one of common sense who feels desirous of testing the remedial powers of Galvanism will, for the sake of a few guineas, throw his money away by purchasing an imperfect instead of a perfect apparatus. He may as well not try Galvanism at all as try it with an inefficient apparatus. These latter remarks I address particularly to invalids; but how much stronger do they apply to medical men who are applying Galvanism? They find it fail of producing those wonderful effects which I have found it to produce! And why is it? Simply because they are using an imperfect apparatus. Scarcely a day passes but I receive an order for my galvanic apparatus from medical men who have been using the small machines and found them useless.

I conclude by stating, that if Medical men employ Galvanism

at all in their practice, they are bound, both in duty to themselves and to their patients to use the apparatus in its perfect form. The price is ten guineas. The cash to accompany the order.

WILLIAM HOOPER HALSE.

22, Brunswick-square, London.

Mr. Halse recommends paralytic patients residing in the country to purchase one of his Ten Guinea Portable Apparatuses; as, with his instructions, they will be enabled to apply the Galvanism themselves, without the least pain, and fully as effectively as he could at his own residence.

Invalids are solicited to send to Mr. W. H. HALSE, of 22, Brunswick-square, London, for his pamphlet on MEDICAL GALVANISM, which will be forwarded free on receipt of two postage stamps. They will be astonished at its contents. In it will be found the particulars of cures in cases of asthma, rheumatism, sciatica, tic douloureux, paralysis, spinal complaints, headache, deficiency of nervous energy, liver complaints, general debility, indigestion, stiff joints, all sorts of nervous disorders, &c. Mr. Halse's method of applying the galvanic fluid is quite free from all unpleasant sensations; in fact, it is rather pleasurable than otherwise, and many ladies are excessively fond of it. It quickly causes the patients to do without medicine. Terms: One Guinea per week. The above pamphlet contains his Letters on Medical Galvanism.

CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC.—Mr. Halse is weekly in receipt of letters from invalids informing him that they have been imposed upon by parties who have Galvanic Apparatuses for sale, representing them as Halse's Galvanic Apparatuses, and which they have afterwards discovered were not his at all. The only way to prevent this imposition is to order the Apparatus direct from Mr. Halse himself.

## THE present Proprietor of HALSE'S CELE-

BRATED MEDICINES having been a vendor of them, and having heard from his customers of the all but miraculous effects of them, and knowing that they had not been brought before the public in the provinces (although their sale in London is very large) in a manner that they ought to be, was induced to offer a certain sum for the Recipes, Titles, &c., to the original proprietor. After much time, and paying a much larger sum than he intended, he has accomplished his object. He has no doubt, however, that the invalid public will ultimately well pay him for his outlay.

## HALSE'S SCORBUTIC DROPS: a sure Cure

for Scurvy, Bad Legs, and all Impurities of the Blood. "Their effects in purifying the blood are all but miraculous."

This medicine is generally admitted to be the most certain purifier of the blood of any yet discovered, a remarkable change in the appearance—from a death-like paleness to the rosy hue of health—taking place within a very short time. Price 2s. 9d. each bottle, and in Pint bottles, containing nearly six 2s. 9d. bottles, for 14s. patent duty included. The following letter must convince every one of the safe, speedy, and truly wonderful effects of those drops.

This important letter is sent to Mr. Halse by Mr. Matthew, a highly respectable farmer, of the parish of Brent, Devon:—

"Brent, March 1st, 1842.

"Dear Sir,—I consider it a duty incumbent on me to state to the public the invaluable properties of your Scorbutic Drops. I may truly say, that I could never have believed such a powerful anti-scorbutic medicine to be in the possession of any one, had I not experienced its wonderful effects. Why is it that so many families are troubled with scorbutic eruptions, when such a purifier of the blood, as your medicine decidedly is, is within the reach of almost everyone? The answer is evident,—because you have not given it that publicity which it is your duty to do; and this is my principal reason for now writing to you, that you may make the particulars of the case public. Your modesty, Sir, ought not to overcome your duty to your fellow-creatures; therefore I trust, for the benefit of mankind, that you will give this letter as much publicity as possible. You remember, when I first applied to you, that I was almost out of hopes of receiving any benefit for my poor suffering child, for I believe that I informed you that I had been trying all but everything in order to give my child some ease, but day by day she continued to get worse, until at length all strength left her, and she was no longer able to walk; her body and head were covered all over with scorbutic eruptions; her appetite had vanished; the eruptions would itch in such a dreadful manner that she would roll herself in agonies on the ground; and she could get no sleep whatever by night. Immediately you saw her, you told me you were certain your Scorbutic Drops would cure her. I paid but little attention to your statement, as I had tried so many things in vain; but hearing of some wonderful cures made by you, I was determined to give your Drops a trial; and, fortunate for me, I did so. Before she had taken one bottle of them all the itching ceased, her appetite returned, and she enjoyed sound and refreshing sleep. By the time she had taken the second bottle, her skin was as fair as any person's, the use of her limbs was restored to her; and, I thank God, her health is now as good or better than it ever was.

"Why, Sir, do you not make the case of Thomas Rolins public? I repeat, it is your duty to do so. When he first commenced taking your drops, he had not a sound inch of flesh in him; his body was literally covered with large running wounds, and a celebrated physician of Plymouth, who examined him, said, 'he never saw a man in such a condition in all his life.' I have lately seen him, and he informs me that he has but one wound left, which is less than the size of half a crown, and which is healing fast. He certainly looks like another man altogether. He told me that your Family Pills quickly restored his digestive powers, and gave him good refreshing rest at night. He would have been a dead man by this time if you had not taken him in hand. Sincerely wishing you every success, allow me to remain, dear Sir, yours respectfully,

"WILLIAM MATTHEWS."

"Holt, near Wimbourne, May 21, 1845.

"To the Proprietor of Halse's Scorbutic Drops.

"Sir,—It is due to you to state the astonishing cure your valuable medicine has caused to my wife. About five years since an eruption appeared in various parts of the body; she applied to various medical gentlemen without deriving the least benefit; the disorder continued to increase, and latterly to a very frightful extent, her body being covered with painful, itching, unsightly scabs. About six months since I providentially saw the advertisement of Halse's Scorbutic Drops, in the *Salisbury Journal*. I determined that my wife should give your medicine a trial, and accordingly purchased a bottle of your Drops of Mr. Wheaton, your agent at Ringwood, and I have not words to express my opinion of the medicine, but in the course of a fortnight she was perfectly cured, having taken two bottles of the Drops and one box of Pills. Six months have now elapsed, and she has had no return of the complaint.

"A neighbour of mine, Mr. John Sheers, yeoman, of Holt, has a child eighteen months of age, which, since it had been four months old, had its head and face completely covered with scabs, causing itself and mother many sleepless nights. Now, as I was a witness of the truly wonderful effects of your incomparable medicine in my wife's case, I recommended it to my neighbour, and, after some persuasion, he purchased a bottle. He gave it to his child. The effect was miraculous, for in less than three weeks the child was perfectly cured. Truly, Halse's Scorbutic Drops is a wonderful medicine, and I am convinced that no one would be afflicted with the Scurvy if they knew its value.

"I have recommended those Drops to many others in my neighbourhood; a statement of their cases, if you wish, I will forward another time. With the greatest respect,

"I remain, your obedient and obliged servant,

"STEPHEN CUIL."

Halse's Scorbutic Drops are sold in bottles at 2s. 9d., and in pint bottles, containing nearly six 2s. 9d. bottles, for 14s.

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I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

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I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

THOMAS STONE.

To Messrs. Warrick, Brothers, Garlick-hill, London.

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I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

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